

INSIDE: The mystery of KAL 007/ David Bowie onstage

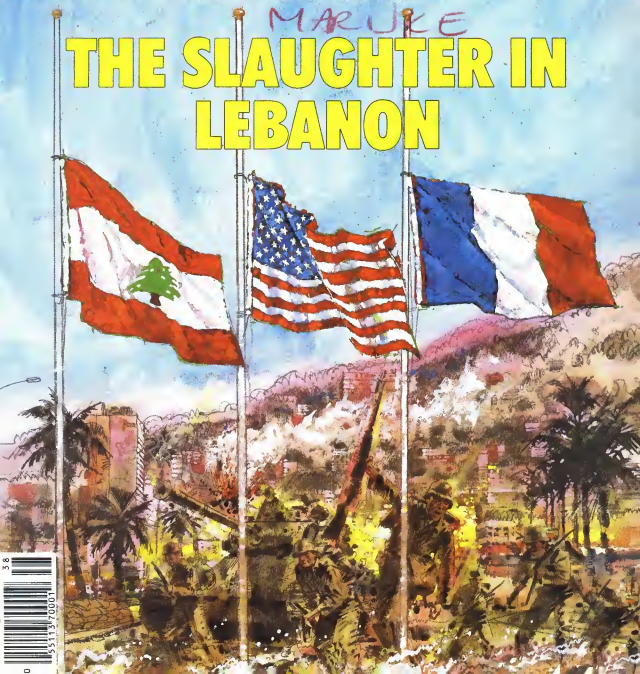
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SEPTEMBER 11, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Back to work in Ottawa

After a week of caucus meetings and furious behind-the-scenes political activity by the three federal parties, the doors of Parliament open this week. —Page 28



Peronists freeze out Isabel
Argentina's Peronist Party nominated a door senator, Isabel Luder, for next month's presidential vote, turning its back on former president Isabel Peron. —Page 35

COVER

The slaughter in Lebanon

The guns of U.S. peacekeeping forces joined in Lebanon's murderous massacre last week, and French fighters flew over the country's warring Druze and Phalangite militias. But neither a multinational peace force nor President Amin Gemayel's faltering government could stop the killing or the continuing hemorrhage of Lebanon's lifeblood. —Page 24

COVER PHOTO: EDWARD SHERRIN



The aftermath of Flight 007

Worldwide outrage over the Soviet downing of a civilian jetliner has become a major embarrassment for Moscow and a serious setback for East-West relations. —Page 27



A legend in his own time

David Bowie's "Serious Moonlight" tour has been the biggest rock phenomenon of the year, confirming his status as a master showman and a true superstar. —Page 54

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No surprises

Congratulations. Your dramatic cover and excellent cover story on *The ferry of the Philippines* (Sept. 3) put me over on your main competitors in Canada. Time and Newsweek, who relegated the assassination story and A&P put it second place. We Filipinos have come to accept our country as "little more than pinpoints on the map of an obscure and distant region."

—CERILIA SALLAS
Montreal

Nobody would be surprised if Philippine authorities come out empty-handed in their investigation of the assassination of Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino. Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda, only now prep up their fleet and relax. After all, they had warned Aquino of an assassination plot. As for U.S. President Ronald Reagan, he will certainly have his unlimited supply of jelly beans. His military bases in the Philippines intact and the best welcome the Philippines could whip up, despite a sagging economy, when he goes for a visit in November. After all, Filipino political debates revolve an military careers, so plotted westerners and the widows and the orphan of victim societies are some of his business.

—CHUCK VASQUEZ
Scarborough, Ont.

Bennett's 'age of responsibility'

The ultimate aim of a free and democratic society is the elimination of poverty. Poverty is not a myth or something that only happens in Third World countries. It exists in British Columbia and is rapidly becoming worse under



Aquino's body lying in state: time to relax

William Bennett's government. The government has incited fear, distrust, greed and hatred on the people of British Columbia under a new banner called "the age of responsibility."

—JEWEL TOWNSEND,
Victoria

Voices in the North

I read with some pleasure the article on the South Broadcasting Corp. (A living voice of ancient traditions, *Telethon*, Aug. 3). However, I would like to take exception to the impression it gave of the CBC Northern Service's role in northern broadcasting. You state that the CBC's 28-year-old Northern Service provides relatively little radio programming in Inuktitut. "The CBC provides northern programming to the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory from five stations north of the 60th parallel. Sixty per cent of the full-time staff in our Probuher Bay and Repulse Inlet stations are Inuit. One third of our programming in the North and half in the Eastern Arctic is in Inuktitut."

—MICHAEL BROWN,
Program Director, Northern Service,
Ottawa

Correction

In a caption below a photograph accompanying the article *An emotional battle for a vintage firm* (Business, Sept. 3), *Maclean's* inaccurately identified the man portrayed as Donald Ripley, vice-president of Milford Young, Weir Ltd. The picture was of James Bradford, president of Nova Scotia Savings & Loan Co. Ripley is pictured at right. *Maclean's* regrets the error.



PASSAGES

DECEASED: Jackie Parker, 51, CFC Hall of Famer and player of the quarter-century, as coach of the Edmonton Eskimos, by General Manager Norm Kinsball. Parker, who was quarterback when the Eskimos won three consecutive Grey Cups in 1964, 1965 and 1966, replaced Peter Kucuk, whom Kinsball hired only six months ago to replace Hugh Campbell, who moved to the Los Angeles Raiders of the NFL after coaching the Eskimos to five consecutive Grey Cup victories.

RESCUED: William Richards, 27, as president of Dome Petroleum Ltd., effective Oct. 1. Richards assumed his resignation last week but he had told Dome's directors about his decision in June when they passed him over and chose Scottish oil executive John Howard MacDonald, 55, as the company's new chairman. Richards, who has worked for Dome for the past 28 years, had been in line to succeed Jack Gallagher as Dome's chief executive.

DECEASED: John Varner, 67, former South African game warden, after a long illness, in Cape Town. A hard-liner, he became prime minister in 1966 and held the post for 12 years. Varner led South Africa during a time of intense international condemnation of its apartheid policies. During one major crackdown on domestic opponents in 1977, Varner's government outlawed 18 mainly black organizations and jailed dozens of critics of the regime.

DECEASED: Cyril Leonard Burt, 51, a leading British spy catcher during the Second World War who went on to head Scotland Yard's Special Branch from 1946 until 1959, in London. Burt had worked in counterintelligence and led a team that captured William Joyce, known as Lord Haw-Haw because of his broadcasts on behalf of Nazi Germany. As Special Branch chief, Burt was responsible for severity for the Royal Family and he supervised prosecutions when Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin visited London in 1956.

DECEASED: John Gilpin, 53, principal dancer with London's Festival Ballet from 1959 to 1978 and its artistic director from 1962 to 1965, of a heart attack, in London. Gilpin, internationally known as one of Britain's leading dancers, partnered Diana Allen, Marjorie and Diana Margot Fawcett and was the French Academy of Music and Dance's Valdes Nijinsky Award in 1957. Gilpin, married first to dancer Sally Judd, married Princess Anastasia of Monaco, Prince Rainier's sister, on July 27, 1963.

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Anti-Semitism left and right

Barbara Amiel, in her Aug. 28 column, *My Jews must seem to me the right*, bases her charge of anti-Semitism against Nicaragua's Sandinista government completely on the "persecution" of 70-year-old Abraham Goren Goren, closely associated with the previous Somoza regime, had his property confiscated, and the confiscation was not undertaken with compensatory tax. But there has not been any serious allegation that the confiscation of Somoza's property is a punishment reserved for Jews. It would be surprising if, in a strongly Catholic country which has suffered greatly from the poverty-stricken Jewish areas, there were not a current of anti-Semitism. No friend of Nicaraguans can be indifferent to such developments. —GRAHAM MURRAY, Toronto

Amiel's accusations of persecution of Jews by the government of Nicaragua are totally false, unfounded, irresponsible and malicious. They are also extremely dangerous to our representation in Canada. Amiel has never had the decency or the courtesy to verify her stories with this consulate general or with the Embassy of Nicaragua in Ottawa. Instead, she has gone ahead with a campaign against my government that is nothing but untruth and defecation. The Fundamental Statute of the Republic of Nicaragua, promulgated immediately after the triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution on July 20, 1978, clearly affirms the absolute right to freedom of religion in Nicaragua. On Aug. 21, 1978, the government of Nicaragua also promulgated the Statute of Rights and Guarantees of the Nicaraguan People, which makes it illegal to engage in discriminatory practices in Nicaragua due to race, colour, creed, sex, birth and other social conditions. The government of Nicaragua has adhered to these laws and will combat discrimination of any sort. I hope that this will help clarify the position of the government of Nicaragua in this matter.

—FABIAN VALLE-GARCIA,
Consul General of Nicaragua,
Toronto

After presenting a few examples in which obvious anti-Semites were also anti-Semites, Barbara Amiel, torturing logic aside, suggests very clearly that anti-Semitism is invariably associated with anti-Semitism. This is nonsense. Racism is a relatively recent political philosophy which argues that all Jews have a mystical relationship with their "ancient homeland" in Palestine and that any Jew has more territorial rights in Palestine than any Palestinian, including those who were born there and

whose ancestors have lived in Palestine for thousands of years. This is racism, pure and simple. Anyone who opposes racism has a moral obligation to oppose it in all forms, if, even if that means being called anti-Semite by people like Amiel. —MICHAEL F. CARROLL, London, Ont.

Squeezing value out of Petrocan

Your Aug. 6 *Pulse-up*, Petrocan's costly push, answers the question of whether Canadians are getting value for their money out of their national oil company in a single-mindedly negative fashion. The arguments employed in support of your conclusions are curious in the value of Petrocan really to hinge solely on a measure of pennies per litre at the pump? And were a Crown corporation to consistently undercut the market, would either oil companies, Conservative critics and Mook's writers praise this as a sign of its success? It is true that Canadians have invested substantial sums in the creation and expansion of Petrocan. But since most of the investment funds of the large oil companies came out of funds generated internally from consumer dollars, Canadians pay for such investments in any case. The most important question of all, however, seems to me to be the superior "disappearing" to which the large oil companies are supposedly subject. One is to accept, apparently, that the great oil companies are subject to the control of their shareholders. Even were they so subject, would the priorities of shareholders necessarily coincide with the interests of Canadians? —TIMOTHY EVANS, Scarborough, Ont.

Petrocan's costly push could have emphasized the contribution to Canadian development being made by the government oil company's latest takeover. First, Petro-Canada bought two of our Canada's large operating departments BP reduced its Toronto headquarters staff and moved to Calgary. Next, Petro-Canada offered its new and old employees money to quit. Approximately 1,000 made that choice before the June 30, 1982, deadline. Then, the company got busy letting former BP employees go who had failed to take the hint. Removing the dysfunction of BP and Petro-Canada's current situation will cost many more jobs. Surely this is the unsavoury face of nationalism!

—HUGH R. QUINN,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Petrocan should supply name, address and telephone number. All correspondence in letters to the Editor, Reader's Digest, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1A7.

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Draft-card burning in 1967: their activism has cooled, their anger dissipated

FOLLOW-UP

The resisters are at home

By Gordon Legge

As the Vietnam War raged in Southeast Asia from 1964 to 1975, the battle cry, "Hell, no, we won't go," echoed across U.S. campuses. Rather than fight an "unjust war," tens of thousands of young American men, mostly draft dodgers and deserters, crossed the border into Canada. Today most of those who remained in Canada after the war ended have settled comfortably into the middle class. Their resentment has cooled and their anger dissipated. Now their political energies often are channelled into community organizations. For most of them, citizenship is of secondary importance. Explained Jean-Pierre Huard, 39, who owns a Calgary folk music store: "I see myself as belonging to the human race instead of a piece of defined territory." The war resisters' reasonable staying also underscores some fundamental differences between Canada and the United States.

Although there are no official figures, estimates of the number of draft dodgers and deserters who fled to Canada range from

30,000 to 80,000. After U.S. presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter initiated clemency and amnesty programs, all but about 30,000 returned home. One who chose to remain in Canada is Tom Greenwood, 36, an instructor in academic writing at York University in Toronto. Greenwood arrived in Toronto in the early 1960s and immediately decided to become a Canadian. Said Greenwood, who is ambivalent about life in Canada: "Here people respect

Greenwood (left), Martin 'here alive' 'd' conservation works'



other people's differences. Here small 'c' conservatism seems to work, whereas in the United States that quickly turns to rebellion."

Edwin Kothfringer, 35, an athlete, pipe-smoking community planner with the City of Toronto, shares Greenwood's political sensibilities. He came from Rochester, N.Y., in the fall of 1970 "because the Vietnam War was a war of aggression on the part of America." He decided to stay for similar reasons: "America was becoming more violent, and there was less and less democracy." In contrast, he found that Canada "was becoming more and more open. People-oriented things were happening."

For some draft dodgers, coming to Canada provided an opportunity: it was the language of the time, to "go back to the land." They settled in British Columbia's Gulf Islands, in the B.C. Interior and in the Maritimes. Jan Soderman, 35, came to Canada in 1971 from Pomfret, N.Y., on the day he was supposed to be drafted. He settled on the edge of the wilderness near Cross Creek, N.E., 46 km from Fredericton. Sharing a small, hand-hewn house with his Florida-born wife, Charlene, and three young children, he earns an annual income of \$4,000, most of which comes from the sale of a few hand-crafted guitars. Although Soderman says that he has left the war and U.S. politics far behind, he spent the past two winters in Florida to escape the harsh sun. Now Brunswick winters. Back in Cross Creek, he said: "It was the children getting sick that drove us away. How many sleepless nights can you take?"

David Miller, 33, also spent many sleepless nights when he first arrived from Port Lavoie, Wash., in 1970. Miller, an army deserter, said, "I thought I was just going to be able to come here and get a job and live happily ever after." But it took Miller a year to find a job. Meanwhile, the Canadian family he stayed with supported him. Now employed as an elementary school teacher in Parksville, B.C., Miller said that his decision to flee to Canada and the Canadian family's unselfish assistance changed his life irrevocably. "It is something that I can look back on and be proud of," Joseph Chazara, 35, a University of British Columbia computer programmer, is equally satisfied. "It is the wisest move I ever made," he said. "There is no way I would flee to the States again."

Larry Martin, a child-



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care worker who helped Chems after he arrived in Canada, has not forgotten the war. Martin, 37, went to Vancouver as a draft evader in 1969 and became a founder of the Vancouver Committee to End American War Objectors. Although he is unemployed and the committee owes \$5,000 in unpaid expenses, Martin continues to spend a few hours each week advising young U.S. officers currently living in Canada. While the expenses made it possible for draft dodgers to return to their country without fear of imprisonment, any deserter who returns still faces prosecution. Said Martin: "There are hundreds of guys still wanted in the United States who cannot go back. I help them evade their status." Martin also counsels residents of Canada faced with new U.S. draft registration laws and men who deserted recently in the mistaken belief that they could still apply for landed immigrant status or arrival in Canada—in fact, since a 1975 change in Canadian immigration law, they must first apply in the United States and must usually show proof of a job that cannot be filled by a Canadian.

One deserter who was granted a pardon under the Carter administration first went underground under the assumed name of Ronald Windfield. (He agreed to an interview on condition that his real name not be used, to protect his privacy.) After a three-year stint as a marksman, Windfield deserted in February, 1968, the day before his scheduled departure for Vietnam. He spent the next 2½ years living underground, constantly moving and changing jobs to elude FBI officials. "I had no freedom and I was jealous of everybody with freedom," he said. "I was drinking heavily and doing lots of dope. There was nowhere to go. I was thinking about suicide." Then he moved to Canada.

On his arrival in Montreal during the big crisis in October, 1970, he "acted like a lunk," said, to his hosts, he spotted army tanks in the streets. He remembers wondering, "What am I doing here?" But he stayed and got a job as copy editor for a Montreal island newspaper, the *Vestaire*, veterans, team assembling down their lives as they perched past the new War Memorial in Washington, D.C., earlier this year, Windfield remarked. "Those guys were free all the years I was underground. But they are not free today. The United States does not want any part of the Vietnam War or the vets. The vets will always be underground. I can live with my memories. I do not think I could live with the memory of killing an innocent woman in a Vietnamese village."

Wes David Foster is Fredericton, Ernest Allen is Toronto, Wilson Leach is Montreal, D.C. Chase Leach is Vancouver.

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The Gospel without the preaching

Morley Callaghan, who turned 80 in February, has just published *A Time for Judas*, his 25th novel and 20th book. Some critics are calling it one of his most important works (page 68). It is certainly an unexpected turn in a career that has spanned 55 years and brought Callaghan international prominence and a wide range of honours, including the Governor-General's Award. Born in Toronto and trained as a lawyer, Callaghan in the 1950s worked briefly on *The Toronto Star*. Then he met Ernest Hemingway, who encouraged him to become part of the literary ferment in Paris which Callaghan later recounted in his memoirs *That Summer in Paris*. But by that time he had already been angled out, particularly in the United States, for the realism and the modernist diction of his stories and novels. Returning to Toronto, he continued writing in both forms, with more obvious concerns for moral issues and Christian values since the 1960s. *A Time for Judas*, which has an unusually large first Canadian printing of 17,000 copies, is clearly part of the same impulse, though it is much different from his other books. The story purports to be a lost manuscript discussing how light on *Judas*' betrayal of Christ, Macken's contributor Doug Fisher spoke with Callaghan in his Toronto home.

Macken: As your first historical novel and the most openly religious of your works, has *A Time for Judas* caused any unusual reactions?

Callaghan: I don't know how the plans will take this book. As one American publisher pointed out, I do something that isn't done. Like G. Douglas, Thomas Costain and all the others who wrote such fiction wrote around the Gospel. But I have tried to make Jesus, Mary Magdalene and Judas real people. If Jesus wasn't real and if Judas wasn't real, if they are both some false, then

the whole point is lost. Writing this book I found an extraordinary freshness coming over me; it was almost lyrical.

Macken: Your critics have always recognized the Christian underpinning of your work, but for some reason you are not usually thought of as a Catholic writer. The only Catholic priest

what I ran across was that great, dominant Christian writer, Flannery O'Connor. Her grace is wonderful for steering us aside and steadily course through life. But grace is too often the enemy of art. The artist should certainly never be concerned with it; that's for other people. Of course, [American critic] Tolson and Wilson said I was a probably self-directed man, and that's true. I remember

my book *The Legend and the Lost* the Russians published it, and I wondered why Marjorie had written me a letter about it; he thought it was a great religious book I put this in the Russian who wrote the long introduction to the first edition. He shrugged and said, "What you call religion, we call psychological insight."

Macken: If you have never enjoyed the full benefits of being recognized as a Catholic writer, there have you felt the pressure of having been a Catholic in old Orange Toronto?

Callaghan: Oddly enough, I don't think so. The people around here after we returned from Paris, particularly the ones who took an interest in my work, were not Catholics. And the subject of religion just went along up. I played ball in every league in Toronto and so I knew kids from all paths in life, and any sense of separation as religious groups never entered our life at all. But then I have never made friends on the basis of religious affiliation either, though I loved the fact that the great Jesus Marjorie was my friend.

Macken: It is true, as far as been often said, that Marjorie helped you pull out of that dry period, the years between 1948 and 1957 when you wrote little fiction and made your living from broadcasting and journalism?

Callaghan: No, that's a mistake. He would never have permitted to have done so. He always told me what he thought, though. He and I had in common a belief in the essential dignity of



Callaghan: I have tried to make Jesus and Judas real people.

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tentative probe of a sealed that some geologists believe could contain oil fields so great they will make those of the North Sea seem hardly significant. Said Finn Selvig, head of the Nansett Institute in Oslo: "The North is one of the major areas for development in the next generation. From being an off-limits area, it should become a leading supplier of energy resources."

The government-controlled Treasury Secret is an example of how well Norway treats its oil men, who work two weeks on, two off, and are protected by almost fanatical health and safety regulations.

The workers enjoy such luxuries as a theatre showing the latest video releases and a dining room serving meals that compare well with those served at the best restaurants on the mainland. A multinational crew swaps jokes about its heavily guest. Someone has scribbled on a wall in homage to the anonymous formulator of Murphy's Law: "What-ever can go wrong, will." Marjory was an optimist.

Back on the mainland, however, Norwegian officials show a more optimistic face, in line with the country's "sch" approach to dealings with its asper-

son neighbor. Carsten Holthe, spokesman for the foreign ministry in Oslo, stresses that the Soviet rig is a "gray" zone. "There is some uncertainty as to whether it actually is within territory claimed by Norway," he said. "Due to this uncertainty there has been no reason to protest to the Soviet Union. There could be a margin of error of perhaps two kilometers." But in negotiations with the Soviets, the Norwegians have argued that the boundary should be decided according to the "median-line principle"—a line drawn to the North Pole equidistant from both countries—a concept that the U.S.S.R. has accepted in comparable disputes. The Soviets saw what the line drawn straight north from the U.S.S.R.-Norway border. Said Holthe: "It is rather hard to draw the line."

Behind such bland comments there is considerable worry and anger about the oil rig and Soviet expansionism generally in the Barents Sea. It is no coincidence that both U.S. Vice-President George Bush and U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger have visited

Hastily revised NATO scenarios cast Norway as a lead character for the start of a third world war

Norway this year for consultations with Conservative Prime Minister Kåre Willoch's government. NATO has agreed to the possibility that the Soviets are poised for a takeover of the Barents Sea and neighboring territory.

The only major land mass in neighboring territory is the arctic archipelago Svalbard ("lying above the Arctic"), which is the last habitable place before the frozen wastelands radiating out of the North Pole. Although officially under NATO protection, it is a demilitarized zone. Traditionally, Norway has exploited the 24,000 square miles of snow, ice and barren rock for its coal, trapping and rock fishing grounds. In the Treaty of Svalbard in 1925, which gave Norway sovereignty over the territory, other signatories were given the right to maintain their economic activities in the area. Only the Soviet Union has been a continuing presence. The population of Svalbard is 3,500, 1,200 of them Norwegians and 2,300 Soviets. Some Soviets work as ground crew at the only airport.

In allowing the Soviet presence in Svalbard to dominate their own, the Norwegians have shown the same gentlemanly, trusting courtesy they have displayed in negotiations over the bor-

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Pick up two actors while you're at it. Wally saw the show and he says it's a comedy.



What do I know it's a great show? I've got enough in stock, business.



I thank you, I'll call up before the market closes. What Wall Street? I said, Wally Cronen.



I want to buy one hundred shares of it.



So he said, "Thank you, I'm on my last quarter." "Oh yes?" says the "show how can you afford to buy stock?"



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der in the Barents Sea. Even though it now suspects that the USSR has violated the agreement not to drill for oil in the disputed area, Norway maintains that, as decided in discussions two years ago, it is still up to the Soviets to reopen negotiations.

Ironically, a Norwegian firm, Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk, supplies positioning equipment for Soviet Barents exploration. The equipment makes it possible for drilling rigs to stay in position without anchoring and compensation automatically for wind and drift. The USSR had originally ordered the equipment from the United States, which withdrew the required export license following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The Norwegian offshore industry may well pick up more business from the Soviet bid to exploit the Barents because there are gaps in the Soviets' offshore technology. Maria Apler, attached to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow, where she has studied Soviet oil exploration, said, "The Soviet Union realizes that it has too few offshore specialists and that the education available in the country is insufficient." However, she pointed out that the Soviets have recently tested a highly successful prospecting technique involving high-frequency seismic soundings — which resulted, she said, in 30 new finds in the Caspian Sea.

In addition to oil and technology, the Barents has assumed a far greater importance in Norwegian and NATO defence calculations. Norwegian defence chiefs insist that the area is still one of "relatively low tension." Lt.-Gen. Ulf Berg, of Headquarters Defense Command Northern Norway, admitted recently that a Soviet attack now would rapidly overrun Finnmark, Norway's northernmost province, which borders the Barents Sea and northernly approaches to the Atlantic.

The NATO code for such an attack and Norway's response to it is "Go Day." If Go Day becomes reality, the United Norwegian Forces would fall back from Finnmark to the neighboring provinces. Troms, which they have come to defend as all costs. But defense experts in Oslo say that the Norwegians could only hope to fight for a "satisfactory halting time" before seeking reinforcements from the United States and other NATO allies, including Canada.

If, then, according to the most hawkish Western scenario, the Barents Sea would be a Soviet pond. Bombers would be on their way to attack Atlantic shipping. Nuclear submarines would be slipping beneath the polar ice cap, heading north to Baffin Bay. And another world war would be in progress.

—CHRIS NISLEY in Stockholm.

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FOLLOW-UP

A killer with a conscience

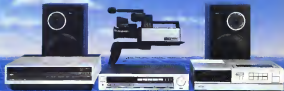
On the surface, 60-year-old Jean Harris has not changed. She still greets guests in proper white blouse and pearls. From her cottage room on the grounds of the Bedford Hills Correctional Institute north of New York City, the woman convicted of murdering Sonowald shot duetist Herman Tarnower in March, 1960, is still entrained in her campaign to prove that she is guilty of manslaughter—not murder. On Aug. 30, a Westchester County Court judge denied her latest motion for a new trial, but her new lawyer, Michael Kennedy, is appealing. "Optimistic" that the former headmistress will be free by Christmas. In the meantime, Harris has changed. She has become an activist. And she is pursuing her prison-inspired commitment—to improve the rights and fates for all women behind bars—with the same doggedness she brought to her own plight.

In February, 1961, after one of the most widely publicized murder trials in U.S. history, Harris was sentenced to a minimum of 15 years for killing Tarnower, who had been her lover. Harris appealed the judgment all the way to the Supreme Court. Four months ago lawyer Kennedy argued before the Westchester County Court that Harris deserved a new trial because she was not mentally competent at the time of the crime. Harris was psychotic, the lawyer said, and suffered from the after-effects of mood-altering drugs at the time of the shooting.

Shana Alexander, author of *Very Much a Lady*, a critically acclaimed analysis of the crime, has become a personal friend to Harris. "Jean is very active working for the rights of women prisoners," said Alexander. So far, an article that Harris wrote on the subject has been published in *New York* magazine, a fund-raising campaign is in progress, and a documentary radio show is under discussion. Harris has also compiled a book of letters from the children of women prisoners.

If appeals continue to fail in her personal campaign, Harris will be eligible for parole at the age of 72, yet she shows no signs of flagging in her new role as advocate. Whatever else may happen, this much is already certain: the past 24 years have turned a tradition-wounded headmistress into a socially conscious reformer.

—WILLIAM LOWMYER



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Illustration by Peter and F. K. K. K.

COLUMN

Jesse Jackson has his own dream

By Fred Brunson

Announced or not, Jesse Jackson is running for president of the United States, and it appears that powerful blacks are so disheartened by the white mainstream that Jackson was to prove shrewd or audaciously optimistic or sublimely deluded—if for any combination of reasons he isolated upon making more than a symbolic run for the races—well then, the thinking goes, the black vote would be split, a conservative would triumph at the Democratic convention, Liberia would defect, and Ronald Reagan would awake from one of his frequent naps to find himself president once again.

Another tree of folly by the instant hand is not a shrewd prospect for the very millions unable to grasp the genius of supply-side economics and, of course, it is even less appealing for those who are black. The administration's well-advertised victory over inflation brought heavy sanctions. Unemployment remains near 10 per cent nationwide but much higher in those black and miserable areas where liquor store owners do business from behind bulletproof glass and street corners are crowded with the idle poor. Among young black males the jobless rate is 56.5 per cent.

No wonder then that blacks say they cannot afford Ronald Reagan. The question is, can they afford Jesse Jackson?

He is a compelling fellow. Rev. Jackson commands attention, with a style that suggests he speaks for the multitudes—that he is an appointed representative of the people and necessarily carries forth the word. "I'm clearly a product of God's mission for me," Jackson has told an interviewer. "I'm a very ordinary person in my origins and interests but I have been used as an instrument in extraordinary ways." As a young man, Jackson gained the confidence of Martin Luther King and, inevitably, adopted some of his mentor's style. But whereas King was a philosopher first and then a social technician, Jackson appears significantly more the pragmatist. King may have wanted to inherit the kingdom of heaven, Jackson says Washington will do fine.

"Jesse's candidacy is far good as a mass event," said Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit. "It's serving its purpose for Jesse and the black community. But it's also serving a Republican purpose." The sentiment was shared by

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A Jackson bid—or that of any other black—seems futile, Hooks said. "No matter how symbolically attractive, it has no chance of changing the present system. We therefore call on black Americans to support that candidate most likely... to win the election."

It is of course true that a black American could not win an election for the presidency. He is an inherent punch, really, entirely willing to accept political pap, placating on Capitol Hill, perhaps an occasional business alliance between the ruins and an elected representative—but when it comes to race and politics we are not yet ready to hang in boldly some insurance.

Just as we once worried that a Catholic president would dismantle the National Guard and depose the Knights of Columbus, we now must face that a

'How would it be to have a president swatting flies and crooning songs from Porgy and Bess?'

black president would set out our fantasies of Watts and postmodern Georgia. Naming are the images of U.S. cabinet members dressed in tank tops and suede sneakers strutting into the Oval Office, basses rattling on their shoulders. And how would it be to have the maximum leader sequestrated on the front lawn of the executive mansion, swatting flies and crooning the songs from *Porgy and Bess*?

Then, too, one naturally would view the election of a black chief executive as a critical message of response. Why would a black want to waste his time looking to affairs of state when he could be busy fly-dunking or doing a concert in Vegas? Or, young black people the idea that they can make good away from the footboards or supper-dish stage and the nation's sports and entertainment conventions could be dealt a mortal blow. Enough that a black fellow whistled, around it upon his mark. Let's try to keep this in perspective.

No, Jackson would have to run without hope of winning. As Hooks says, the country is just not ready for a black president, not at all. But if he

were willing to accept the limits of his candidacy, that is to say if he were willing to accept the bogosity of it all, Jackson no doubt would serve high public purpose, while suffering, for a time, the pangs of private disappointment. He would draw more blacks into the political process—voter registration is way up, thanks in part to Jackson's early campaigning—as well as advance ideas that even the most committed white liberal may not address.

Black America has a quaint notion regarding corporate responsibility. In his view, firms enjoying the bounty of a black clientele should hire black workers and deal with black contractors. Corporations do not always reason happily when Jackson screeches his message of corporate responsibility and suggests shoppers choose an alternative brand. Usually, something can be worked out. It is difficult to imagine Walter F. Mondale, by all counts an honorable man, engaging in a brawl with the manufacturers of Budweiser beer, or old Jackson, or with the bottlers of Coca-Cola. For Mondale, for John Glenn, even for Gary Hart, the Democratic nomination—and then the presidency—is entirely within reach. Visible candidates may pause before changing head down at the capitol of industry.

But making enemies is the obligation of reformers, and Jackson advertises himself as a man who would significantly restructure the old order. He has been bold and courted. He has inspired school students or the need for dialogue and industrial leaders on the virtues of social involvement. He tells the government it has forgotten the poor and doesn't seem to march as if the fellows in Washington treat him as lowly little dogs that he needs to be properly that. No one tells white candidates to check their dreams and come to their senses. Jesse Jackson has the right to do the people in his constituency. Blacks are only one of them. Jackson ignores first the odds and then, his followers, if he dares to reach that he was born to win.

Fred Brunson is a writer with Newsday in New York.



Back to work in Ottawa

By Carol Goss

The most stinging criticism that Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney will win at Pierre Trudeau in Parliament this fall will be people's complaint to the effect he overreacted last week. For almost two hours the prime minister sat stoically in Room 386 of Parliament's West Block while his Liberal colleagues, reeling from a troubling summer in their riding, dissected his leadership. Trudeau's discomfort was obvious to every MP and senator at the party's first autumn caucus meeting, but most of the rebuke were brought into line.

The sure collapse-in-reverence of the crowd and remote Trudeau was the dramatic highlight of a week of intense, behind-the-scenes political activity by all three parties in preparation for the resumption of Parliament this week. The Liberals plotted and planned, first as a national caucus, then as regional groups and, finally, at a special inner cabinet meeting at March Lake.

The Conservatives, meanwhile, continued a two-week blitz of announcements and appointments. On Tuesday, hours after City Leader Brian Mulroney's swearing-in as the member from Central Nova, he announced the creation of five task forces to help prepare an economic platform, and then—after a summer day and night of last-minute debate—announced his shadow cabinet. It was heavily weighted with allies and supporters of former leader Joe Clark in an attempt to repair the rift left by last June's leadership convention. By the weekend, at the Tories' first caucus meeting since Joe's Mulroney's tenure had fallen into place.

At a Nova Scotia resort, 26 members of the star caucus retreated to settle their jangle in the Gallup poll from 16 to 35 per cent. The Tories dropped five percentage points to 50 and the Liberals went up six to 58 per cent.

Despite last week's emotional airing of the leadership question, the Liberals approached the fall sitting with as little about Trudeau's personal plans at the annual meeting. caucus members instructed the MP to shield for his privacy. When the prime minister rose and made a short, compelling appeal for party unity, which briefly silenced even his critics. Some MPs were so dazzled by Trudeau's oratory that they emerged from the meeting awestruck as if

whether he had even mentioned his three-year-old promise to step down before the next election. On reflection, they realized that he had not.

The speech was vicious. Trudeau heaped by assuring the dissidents that he understood their frustration. Then



Trudeau: two-hour oration

he dismissed calls for a new, statement about his future with a tightly constructed, point-by-point argument. First, he insisted, with Parliament's resumption and the government's long-delayed throne speech just a few weeks away, it was not the time to open the leadership question. Secondly, he maintained, the best interests must be used to

rebuild the party, not disfigured in internal rivalries for the top job. Next, he argued that he would issue the authority to steer and discipline the government if he announced his retirement date prematurely. And finally—to touch his audience's hearts as well as their minds—he humbly thanked his colleagues for letting him make his own choice, as has been true, during his 38 years in Ottawa. "I've never heard him speak better," admired Kenneth McJohn Reid, one of Trudeau's most ardent critics.

The first impression did not make for long-term consensus. Reid, like most other members of the small group of dissenters, said that he still thinks Trudeau should return soon. Toronto back-bencher Ursula Apolloni, another MP who publicly spoke out against the leader, emerged from the debate chastened but unrepentant. "I'm here to speak up for my constituents," she said.

But what really rattled the dissidents was the tongue-clashing they received from other Liberals. "We were made to feel pretty embarrassed," said one member of the group, who recalled that Trudeau berated and the disaffected were "shook" to have been their frustrations to the press. The most stinging rebuke, admitted one critic, was the charge that they had caught the "Tory disease"—a chronic tendency to backslide.

Mulroney's plan is to eradicate the malady that has afflicted the party for almost a quarter of a century. That was the overriding theme of last week's caucus meeting at the scenic Nova Scotia resort, 55 km north of Ottawa. The new leader repeatedly stressed that he expects self-discipline and hard work from his caucus. Any "leader" of moral purity information will be dealt with harshly, he warned.

While Mulroney seldom kept, various reporters at bay with organized volley-ball games and swims in the lake, the Tories struggled through a grueling agenda of party business, House of Commons strategy, bill flags on various issues and election planning. On Saturday, his very second day as a 73rd-year president, then reported to a session on parliamentary strategy with Deputy Leader Erik Nielsen. A discussion on confidence, a concentration on western freight rates and a discussion of the government's controversial

new security bill, however, will not guarantee an end to the grumbling.

Mulroney discovered that reality after he announced last week's shadow cabinet appointments: he spent hours on the phone placing the 30 odd MPs who did not receive appointments. Furthermore, he had a minor showdown on his hands when he failed on scheduling the coveted external affairs critic's job to right wing Sinclair Stevens, the first high-profile Tory to join his leadership campaign. Just hours before the appointment, party moderates pinned with Mulroney to change his mind. And

is Mulroney's shadow cabinet, which consists of 34 opposition critics and 36 deputy critics, and is modelled on the British system. Key appointments included Vancouver MP Patricia Carney, an accountant, as energy critic, Clark-backed Jake Epp of Manitoba as health critic, Harvie Andre of Alberta as defence critic, Don Macdonald of Alberta as transport critic, and Thor Macdonald of Ontario as social affairs critic. Vancouver-area MP Thomas Sifton, a longtime Mulroney promoter, was rewarded with the important economic development critic's job. Every province was represented, and every

conspiring this message to voters.

An example, de Jang cited the Tories' use of "psychographics"—a neo-conservative tactic to group people by attitudes rather than the traditional demographics of age, employment or income—in his two Aug. 28 speeches. "This comes essentially from the new right in the United States, and I believe it's having a direct effect on the Tories and de Jang. Instead of getting opinions from people—you get their fears and what their anxieties are, what the buzzwords are that trigger off attitudes rather than opinions." Trudeau also listed at a change of strategy, but told reporters, "Next to the Liberals, you would be the last people (to whom) we would tell our strategy."

When Parliament's bells clang to summon the members this week, Mrs. will face a plethora of state legislation. Government House Leader Tim Patten insists that the House cannot tackle any new business until it deals with a bill to change the *Crowns Act*. Paid freight rate for western grain. Also on the agenda are new riding boundaries for the next election and approval of an 18-month-old plan to reorganize several federal departments. That legislative program will partially explain why many Canadians have lost interest in Parliament. According to a poll by the Canadian Study of Parliament Group released last week, 38 per cent of Canadians polled said that they had no interest in Parliament. Another 40 per cent said that they had little interest. Only 27 per cent said that they had quite a lot of interest and the remaining nine per cent said that they had a great deal of interest. Perhaps Canadians have lost interest in the government to control its new game plan in the throne speech expected in October. In the meantime, there is the mystery of the government's personal plans. Until they become clear, Canadians will have to content themselves with daily gales on the floor of the House between reformers Trudeau and senior Minister Mulroney. For many MPs, the spectacle will make apathy—and time—fly.

—Phil Dick, Staff Writer
White Point Beach, N.S.



Mulroney with son Mark and daughter Caroline, Stevens (bottom) hours on the phone

once Stevens was installed, the Opposition Leader pointedly addressed the public that his party's stance on foreign affairs would be "tolerant and moderate." But Friday, at a press conference, Mulroney himself adopted a hard line on foreign policy. Denouncing the government for its passive and cautious response to the Soviet following the brutal shooting down of a Korean jetliner, Mulroney started replying by adding, "You and I both stumble into NATO agents every day of the week."

He went on to say that it would not surprise him if the tide has postponed both Canada's defence department and security service.

Except for the Stevens controversy, Mulroney's shadow cabinet selections were applauded as evidence of his determination to unite the party. As expected, he awarded the senior finance critic role to leadership rival Denis Crossin, and the second key economic job—that of industry critic—to Michael Wilson, who jumped to Mulroney after the first ballot at the leadership convention in June.

July 17 Clark loyalists were included

major leadership candidates—with the notable exception of Toronto's David Crombie, who got the minor communications assignment—was offered a high ranking position.

Meanwhile, in White Point Beach, on Nova Scotia's south shore, the four-percentage-point gain in national popularity helped the NDP. Temporarily, at least, the report showed 15.7 per cent from last month's 11.7 per cent in the British Columbia and

quieted discontent with Ed Broadbent's leadership. Even Saskatchewan MP Doug Armstrong, one of Broadbent's most persistent critics, seemed satisfied. "No one has talked about leadership. We have been talking about it since," Armstrong said. Saskatchewan MP Simon de Jong, another Broadbent critic, suggested that the NDP must forget the leadership focus and concentrate on the numerous other parties are having in



Ed Broadbent in White Point Beach, N.S.



Bélisle arriving in Halifax. 'She Alice is Wonderland,' the provinces alleged

Medicare: the impasse festers

Long before the federal government announced its outline for the new Health Act on July 25, the federal and provincial health ministers had been deadlocked in their dispute over the future of medicare last week in Halifax, at the annual meeting of provincial health ministers. They could not even agree as to why Federal Health Minister Monique Bégin had made the trip. Bégin said that she had come to hear the provinces' thoughts and comments on the new act. For their part, the provincial ministers said that they had invited Bégin to hear her out. By the end of the two-hour meeting, however, both sides seemed further apart than ever. Said Alberta Health Minister David Russell: "I thought it was like Alice in Wonderland, and a complete waste of time."

At issue are the medicare surcharges—hospital user fees and doctors' extra billing—that all 10 provinces permit in some form. Bégin said that the surcharges "have the potential of creating a two-tier health care system based on patients' ability to pay," which she declared undermines medicare's basic philosophy of universal access. Since surcharges split the cost of universal access, she said, they will not be acceptable when the ministers sit down to discuss a draft copy of the new act, which should be ready in a few weeks. After the meeting she asked reporters, "How do you compromise on basic principles, eh?" Under the act, she said, the federal government will withhold funds

from the provinces equal to whatever charges patients pay directly.

Provincial reactions, as it has been for months, was hostile. Said Manitoba Health Minister Laurent Desjardins: "How can anybody in their right mind say, 'We are going to remove the plan, but don't bother us about financing, so far as the federal government is concerned?'" The provinces say that they have no choice but to bill patients directly, since the federal funding for health care is decreasing steadily—a claim that Ottawa denies. The provincial claim that since 1977 the federal share of health care spending has dropped to 40 per cent from 50 per cent, while Ottawa says that its funding has never dropped below 50 per cent.

The provincial ministers also feel frustrated by what they perceive to be Bégin's rapid attitude of accessibility. Said Ontario's Keith Norton: "It seems to me that if she could eliminate what seems to be her ideological straitjacket and accept the fact that the provinces are prepared to make guarantees on accessibility, universality and so on, she could have [our] consensus tomorrow." The provincial ministers refused to ask provinces and federal finance ministers to help them solve their financial problems at yet another meeting. The provinces remain convinced, however, that the reasons behind Bégin's refusal to negotiate are political. Complained Alberta's Russell: "If there is an issue, they do not want to solve it. They are keeping it for the next election."

—MICHAEL CLEGGON in Halifax

Operation HAM in the courts

Operation HAM took place in the offices of a small Montreal computer firm a decade ago. But only one has a trial been set for seven government and former members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police charged with stealing the computer tapes containing the membership list of Quebec's Parti Québécois. The seven accused welcome the move. They are tired of waiting for the Federal Court of Appeal to decide whether or not key government and RCMP documents would be available for their defense, and last week they successfully petitioned the Quebec Superior Court for an early trial. The date Nov. 24. As one lawyer involved in the case put it, "Their attitude is just: 'Let's get this damned thing over with.'"

The charges, laid in 1981, arose out of an operation approved by the Ottawa headquarters in 1973 and criticized later by the federal McDonald inquiry and Quebec's Keibler commission, which studied RCMP activities in the province in the 1970s. Quebec justice officials have pursued HAM and other cases against members of the force vigorously, but Ottawa decided last month not to prosecute the hundreds of Monties for a series of illicit activities. Quebec prosecutors have had only modest success. They laid charges ranging from spying to kidnapping against 17 Monties. But of the 18 who have faced the courts so far, none has been sent to jail. Last December RCMP Const. Richard Daigle, 36, was acquitted on charges of kidnapping and forcibly detaining a Montreal law student in 1975. In May, 1982, a Quebec Superior Court judge delivered a verdict in the case of RCMP Insp. Claude Vermette after Premier René Lévesque called one of the chief witnesses, RCMP Staff Sgt. Robert Pétin, a "donk." Pétin had revealed details of a 74-page spy ring allegedly aimed at federal politicians and civil servants in the early 1970s. Pétin is now one of the seven about to face a jury.

As in the other cases, the Monties do not dispute the facts of Operation HAM. Instead, they base their defense on the claim that they acted in the best interest of the country. At the time of the operation the Monties say they believed that a foreign government was funneling money to the separatist PQ. They hoped to track down the source of the money with the help of computer tapes that contained the name PQ membership list. But they never found the link. Ten years later their reasons for conducting the hunt will be put to the judicial test.

—ANNE BROWN in Montreal

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Cawsey and Erasmus (right) - a break-through for Indian women

The Dene after Erasmus

When Georges Erasmus unexpectedly resigned last May as the president of the 5,200-member Dene Nation, it signaled the end of an era. The change was even more pronounced when 36-year-old Jeanne Cawsey became the first declared candidate and the first Dene woman in history to campaign seriously for the presidency. Although Cawsey polled only five per cent in last Friday's election, which was won by front-runner Shovel Kaffee, an outspoken critic of Erasmus' regime, her campaign was a breakthrough for native women. Said Cawsey: "The chiefs were supportive. They didn't tell me to go home and sew moccasins."

Cawsey, who was born in a tent on a trapline near Stewart, a Chipewyan community on the northeast shore of Great Slave Lake, had prepared for just such a challenge for 11 years. "I'm the first generation of my community out of the bush," she said. "As one of the trail-breakers of this society, I recognize the fact that I will be one of the leaders." Cawsey, who lives in Yellowknife, has been a regional vice-president of the Dene Nation for the past three years and has also served on its board of directors. During the 11-week election campaign she was on leave from her territorial government job as head of native employment.

Cawsey's clearly thought-out campaign platform was close to that of the 38-year-old Kaffee, who after criticized Erasmus for creating a mini-O-

tawa hereafter in Yellowknife. Cawsey called for community-based decision-making that would give Dene chiefs and elders, not as elected executives, control of the Dene Nation. Kaffee descended an end to political rhetoric and a practical approach to land claims settlements, which have already cost the Dene \$12 million. "How we use our land will be a statement about how strong we are. I do not think our objective should be to have a fat bank account," he declared.

Erasmus' presidency was fraught with confrontation and it raised the profile of the Dene people. During his seven-year tenure he presided over two sensitive battles. The first was the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline in the mid-1980s, which sharply halted northern development while the Dene prepared their case for land claims. The second was the First Ministers Conference on Aboriginal Rights in Ottawa last March. But, although Erasmus, 54, acquired political savvy and clout, he was criticized for losing touch with his home base.

Then, when land claims negotiations ground to a stalemate, a third Kaffee stepped down. His plan to launch building a house in Yellowknife, where he will reflect on the past and plan his future. For Kaffee, the road ahead is clear, although not without pitfalls. His mandate will be to restore control of the Dene Nation to the grassroots, where it came from in the first place.

—BARBARA ROUSSETTE in Yellowknife

Macdonald goes on the road

Since the government established the Royal Commission on Key-nable Union and Development Prospects for Canada last November, it has been clouded in controversy. There was bickering about the cost, from the \$900-a-day salary of its chairman, former Liberal finance minister Donald Macdonald, to the final fee, which could reach \$30 million. And there were complaints that the commission's mandate—to drive Canada's economic future, examine government institutions and study the demands of power between Ottawa and the provinces—was an overwhelming and unmanageable task. For all that, after nine months of almost preparation, the 13-member commission finally launched into public view in Vancouver last week, to begin four months of hearings which will result in an interim report next year, to be followed by the major report in 1992.

The commission expects submissions from about 2,500 parties as it moves through villages and cities across the country. If the Vancouver hearings are any indication, the commission will have a formidable task in distilling the far-flung economic opinions that have already been voiced. In Vancouver, free traders, free entrepreneurs, government bureaucrats, Western separatists, protectionists and centralists all got a hearing. To add to the welter of advice, two submissions dealt with issue reform. Said Macdonald of the job ahead: "Any one of the sets of questions would present a major challenge; collectively they are immense."

Protectionism exists under major attack at the hearings as both business

and labor groups insisted that tariffs were damaging the Canadian economy irreparably. Jack Martin, the regional director of the International Woodworkers of America, argued that under the temporary protection of tariffs the plywood industry manufactures a wide range of panel products instead of specializing in products it could produce at a competitive advantage. The B.C. Mining Association complained that import restrictions on foreign cars and textiles will hurt coal sales to Japan. James Martin, president of the Employers' Council of British Columbia, added that Canadians pay higher prices because of tariff protection. In chiding claims, import regulations cost the average Canadian family \$100 a year. Said Martin: "Protectionism is a trap from which Canada must learn to extricate itself or face retaliation by key trading partners around the world."

Liberal Senator George van Bagen and the B.C. Employers' Council struck a common note when they proposed that free trade with the United States was essential to the country's future. "There's nothing wrong with being good buyers of wood and diamonds of value," declared Phil Barter, Vancouver Board of Trade chairman. Martin of the Woodworkers dismissed, however, Barter's plea that the government act only as a catalyst for the private sector. That, said Martin, was 19th-century rhetoric. The commission's job will be to sift through these conflicting viewpoints and find a consensus. It is likely that the intertwined political and economic issues under discussion will also be debated in the next federal election. When that happens, Macdonald—a possible Liberal leadership candidate—may find himself financing the economy in a different role.

—MALCOLM GRAY in Vancouver

Macdonald in Vancouver distilling far-flung

options on economic and political



merit

THE SIGNATURE OF SUCCESS

MERIT SUTS, SPOKESPERSONS AND SACKS

SLAUGHTER IN LEBANON

By Linda Diebel

For only a few hours one night last week it appeared that U.S. presidential envoy Robert McFarlane had finally made progress in brokering the end war in Lebanon. The fighting had stopped Sept. 4, minutes after the Israeli army evacuated the Chouf Moun-

tain low-her battery, shelled a Druse militia base on a hillside southeast of the airport. Reported Maronite spokesman Maj. Robert Jordan: "We hit what we aimed at."

The shelling of units of the multinational force, changed with supporting the embattled government of Lebanon, marked a new escalation in the inter-sectarian struggle between Muslim Druse

slit and seal fears for its own future existence, the government of Lebanon President Amr Gemayel appealed to the United Nations for help. It requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Declared a spokesman at the Lebanese UN mission in New York: "We are not dealing with an internal matter." Indeed, Lebanon's very fate as an independent nation was in peril!



U.S. Marine position in Beirut under fire from Druse position in mountain at the struggle between Muslim and Christian militias.

and Christian Phalangist militias (page 29). It also underscored the powerlessness of the newly reborn Lebanese Army to control territory contested by the Israeli forces. In the Chouf Mountains fighting raged all week as the Druse and the army sought to fill the vacuum left by the Israelis. There also was growing evidence of Syrian and Palestinian Liberation Organization involvement. That it was devoted to bring Israeli reprisals, now more compelling Lebanon's neighbors as well as its war-weary people. Meanwhile, Palestinians, Druse and Christian Phalangist forces murdered scores of civilians, including women and children. At week's end, with little hope that McFarlane's diplomatic attempt would end the con-

front between the Druse and the Christians Phalangist militias (page 29). It also underscored the powerlessness of the newly reborn Lebanese Army to control territory contested by the Israeli forces. In the Chouf Mountains fighting raged all week as the Druse and the army sought to fill the vacuum left by the Israelis. There also was growing evidence of Syrian and Palestinian Liberation Organization involvement. That it was devoted to bring Israeli reprisals, now more compelling Lebanon's neighbors as well as its war-weary people. Meanwhile, Palestinians, Druse and Christian Phalangist forces murdered scores of civilians, including women and children. At week's end, with little hope that McFarlane's diplomatic attempt would end the con-

The salvo from the Boven forces marked the first use of U.S. naval assets since President Ronald Reagan sent the Marines to secure the evacuation of the sea from Lebanon in August, 1982. The tough response came as all four peacekeeping nations—Britain, France, Italy and the United States—questioned the wisdom of leaving their soldiers to run Beirut's gauntlet of fire. In recent weeks shelling has killed four marines and wounded 35. A cluster bomb killed a fifth marine last September. In all, 36 French soldiers have been killed and 44 wounded, and 16 Italian have suffered injuries.

French Defense Minister Charles Herve last week warned Druse forces, pushing hard on Beirut from strong-

holds in the Chouf Mountains, that "if the fire does not stop, we will demolish the batteries." And in Washington, U.S. Vice-President George Bush accused Syria of being "extraordinarily difficult" by maintaining troops in Lebanon and backing Druse units with arms and military advice. "If those matters are not shut off, they are going to be prosecuted," Bush warned, "and it is important that other countries understand that."

After the Boven moved in, two French Super Standard fighters from the aircraft carrier Foch and two U.S. F-15s from the carrier carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower straddled low over Beirut and the Chouf Mountains on reconnaissance and warning runs. But for the dispirited peacekeeping forces trapped

in Lebanon. Before the Israeli occupation, about 250,000 Maronite Christians and a roughly equal number of Druse shared an uneasy peace in redwooded villages high in the Chouf Mountains. But former Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon's decision to allow Christian Phalangists to move into the area and set up roadblocks along the Beirut-Damascus highway reopened century-old hostilities which had subsided between the two religious communities. Within hours of the Israeli withdrawal to the Awali River north of Sidon on Sept. 4, the deafening roar of artillery barrages could be heard kilometers from the Chouf, where heavy smoke marked where shells had scored bullet holes on buildings. By midweek the

with Todd but stopped, said Todd had been hit in the chest by shrapnel.

Herve hid, then have been repeated reports of massacres on both sides. Before the Israeli withdrawal, according to Lebanese security sources, Phalangist militiamen slaughtered a Druse man, his wife and their five children, including a five-month-old baby, in the Chouf village of Kfar Matta. After having severed the heads, the men allegedly rearranged them among the bodies. The Phalangist Voice of Lebanon radio station recently reported the massacre of 40 Christians in the village of Immaran, but in the Syrian-controlled mountains east of Beirut it claimed that the Christians had been stabbed and shot by Druse militiamen from nearby



Phalangist gunmen near Beirut signaling the end of an uneasy peace in the densely populated Chouf Mountains.

under enemy fire in fortified bastions, the warning runs were not enough. The two U.S. marines killed last week died when their bunker—covered with metal, reinforced by wood and steel and surrounded by sandbags—received a direct hit. Thundered Maryland Democratic Rep. Clarence Lucas: "Our Marines are too generous to the American people to let them be used as cannon-fodder targets in an uncalculated war—a war designed as a peacekeeping operation when there has never been, from the beginning, any peace to keep."

For the beleaguered Lebanese in Beirut and the densely populated Chouf Mountains, the past two weeks have proved almost as nerve-racking as the 1975-76 civil war and last year's Israeli

Druse had captured the key towns of Beisan, just off the highway to Damascus about 16 km east of Beirut. A Western television crew which travelled through Beisan said that townspeople, evidently Druse, were flashing V-for-Victory signs and heaving their horns as they drove past bullet-riddled buildings and rubble.

Total casualties are not known. The Lebanese Red Cross said that it had dealt with 70 dead and 212 wounded before the Israeli withdrawal. Since then the agency has been unable to get into the mountains, where an estimated 40,000 refugees are trapped, along with CNN correspondent Clark Todd, 38, a native of Saint John, N.B. ABC newsmen Brian Kelly, a Montreal native who was

villages. At week's end the radio reported yet another massacre, this time by Palestinians as well as Druse in the village of Ajl-Bre. The radio claimed that 64 Christians had been murdered.

The most heart-wrenching eyewitness account, however, came last week from a 34-year-old Druse man. He described for reporters another massacre by Phalangist forces in Kfar Matta, later confirmed by Lebanese authorities. "There were 40 or 50 of us in a shelter because of the shelling," he said. "My 30-year-old mother thought it was the Lebanese Army coming and went in the door. She was shot dead on the spot. The militiamen ordered everybody to go outside. They lined the children up facing them and gunned them



Defeated Lebanese Army tank, Israeli pulled (right) questions about Jerusalem's role

COVER

down." His five- and six-year-old sons were among them.

The bloodshed following the Israeli pullout, which went ahead despite instant protests from Washington, raised disturbing questions about Israel's role in Lebanon for the second time since 40,000 Israeli troops pulled north to Beirut in June, 1982. The Israeli argued that they were not responsible for the centuries-old struggle between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon. In Jerusalem last week Foreign Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said if Israel should feel more responsibility for Lebanon, replied: "No more than for the battles in Cambodia or Argentina. I mean, why should Israel bear the responsibility?"

And Yitzhak Shimon, the prime minister-designate, argued, "Israel is not ready to get physically involved in a war that does not directly affect its security." Drone spokesman ARI Alwan said the comments were hollow. He told reporters last week in Beirut: "The Israelis are morally responsible for what has happened here. They have missed up the international balance."

Resentful Israeli involvement in Lebanon dates from the height of the fighting during the civil war in 1975, when Israel started supplying arms, advice and military training to Phalangist forces who were fighting Moslems and PLO troops. Then, in 1978 Israel committed its air force to aid the Phalan-

gists against the Syrians, and as tensions escalated Syria moved Soviet-made anti-aircraft missiles into Lebanon's eastern Bekaa Valley. When Prime Minister Menachem Begin launched last year's offensive—dubbed Operation Peace Galilee—the publicly announced objective was to drive Palestinian guerrillas 10 km back from Israel's northern frontier. However, Begin's deeper motives were twofold: to install a tough Christian government which would sign a peace treaty with Israel and to rid Lebanon of PLO and Syrian troops.

A year later neither objective has been fully achieved. The PLO infrastructure has clearly been severely shaken, and many of its members have lost confidence in the organization's leadership. But the Israeli-Lebanese accord on troop withdrawal signed last May, was contingent on an agreed ceasefire by Syrian forces and the roughly 10,000 remaining PLO guerrillas from Lebanon. But the Syrians, contending that their security concerns and Lebanese interests had not been sufficiently protected, rejected the pact. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, who considers Lebanon part of Greater Syria, noted that it "moves Lebanon away from its Arab stand and makes it an Israeli protectorate." As a result, the Israelis were left with the guarantee that Syria would not move into the vacuum created by their withdrawal. Indeed, Lebanese government officials charged last week that

1,000 Syrian-supported PLO guerrillas had already joined Druse fighters, their trucks and equipment bearing banners reading, "Frees of return to Beirut."

For its part, the crumbling government of Hafez Ghannouchi last week threw the work in frantic emergency sessions at the Baalbek presidential palace. But it was unable to bring about a reconciliation between the fighting factions. In July a two-man Gennepi told reporters in Washington, "Don't worry, everything will be okay soon." But his brave words had hardened last week Finance Minister Abdel Hamdyeh, the only Druse in his 10-member cabinet, resigned after the Kfar Matta massacre, which, he said, made his job "impossible." Recently, a high-level U.S. envoy in Beirut compared the atmosphere in government circles to the first days of

Marsabit minority has claimed the best cabinet and civil service jobs—and the highest incomes. The Moslem majority, representing 60 per cent of Lebanon's 3.5 million people, consistently has sought revision of the constitution. But while Maronite leaders see an end to bloodshed as a prerequisite to any political settlement, their Moslem counterparts, believing their guns to be their strongest argument, want a political solution before they lay them down.

The power play is only part of a feud that is as old as Lebanon itself: mistrust and hatred between two religious communities which have been bequeathed from generation to generation. "The Moslems want to kill the Christians, and anyone who tells you differently is a fool," a Christian elder said recently in Dikbiye, a Christian village in the

Lebanese Prime Prasa, wrote political times and returned to astride in India. He was assassinated on March 16, 1977, and his son assumed the leadership of his Progressive Socialist Party. The assassins were never positively identified.

On the other side of the political spectrum, Sheik Feroze Gennepi, head of the Christian Phalange Party, is father to both Amin and Bashir, who was assassinated in September, 1982, when he was president-elect. Significantly, when Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens visited Beirut in July—his review of a Phalange militia honor guard infuriated Druse leaders—he asked to confer with Sheik Gennepi, not the president. As Spring unfolded in recent weeks, the old warlord proclaimed, "Let there be war, let the stronger party win, and the world assume its responsibility."

If there is to be any reconciliation of the Christian and Moslem communities in Lebanon, it is evident that the Gennepi administration will have to compromise on several key points. Lebanese officials reported last week that U.S. envoy McFarlane carried a tough peace plan to meetings in Damascus with President Assad and Amratt. It included an immediate ceasefire, followed by the entry of the Lebanese Army into the eastern Beirut suburb of Aley and the Chouf Mountains, agreement by the Phalangis and Druses to remain behind "red lines" and avoid any provocation, commencement of a dialogue between Maronite and Moslem

leaders followed by the formation of a national unity government, and formation of a new political agreement to revise the 1943 National Covenant.

The proposals sounded promising, but there were grave doubts among all three major Moslem sects—Druse, Shi'ite and Sunni—that the Maronites would be willing to give up any of their power in what is the last Christian stronghold in the Middle East. There were also doubts about McFarlane's personal commitment to the concept of a ceasefire. Before becoming Reagan's deputy national security adviser, McFarlane authored a 1970 study of presidential policy in military crises. It wrote, "There is value in being even brutal in local crises to signal the superpowers and regional adversaries about U.S. intentions." McFarlane also concluded, "If you have to use force with all its attendant moral risks, do it well, not with great force. Avoid gradualism."

However, failure by McFarlane to secure a ceasefire would finally bury Reagan's already moribund Middle East peace initiative. When Reagan advanced his plan to "resolve the root causes of conflict between Arabs and Israelis" on Sept. 1, 1982, the Israelis had invaded Lebanon, the PLO was in tatters and the Syrian army had been repulsed by Israel. The plan called for withdrawal of all foreign forces in Lebanon to improve the country's security, as well as Palestinian self-government in the Israeli-occupied



Richard Nixon's presidency, using words like "paranoid" and "paralyzed." After success against Moslem militia forces a week ago, the 30,000 troops of the Lebanese Army—one foreign military adviser calls them "chocolate soldiers"—were now unable to match Syrian-supplied Druse forces. In Washington, Lebanese Ambassador Abdallah Badshah described his government's plight simply: "The army is not equipped to handle the situation," he declared.

For Gennepi, and the Christian Maronite community he represents, the conflict revolves around one central issue: who will run Lebanon. Since the 1943 National Covenant, which delineated power along religious lines, the

Chouf. For his part, a nervously genial Druse banker in Beirut declared to his Christian friend Gennepi, "I will not live under the boot of the Christian militia. I would rather die than live as a second-class citizen."

The generational ties are evident in Lebanon's politics. In July, when the Syrians formed the National Salvation Front to challenge the legitimacy of Gennepi's government, its leader was leftist advocate Walid Jumblatt. His father, Karim Jumblatt, the most famous Druse champion of modern times, was the leader of the Lebanese left during the civil war. Jumblatt was a millenarian, hardworker and avowed socialist, a crafty politician and income taxman. He negotiated with hands of state, was a

U.S. marines after receiving orders to return fire—caught in a feud as old as Lebanon



West Bank and Golan Strip

Since then, however, respect for the U.S. administration has diminished in the Arab world. In the first instance, Reagan's failure to make any serious attempt to contain the Israeli edicts—excluding Israel's entry into West Beirut despite a promise not to do so—led many Arab countries to re-evaluate U.S. policy in the Middle East. According to Faisal Khaleel, the director of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, the confusion they have drawn is that "America cannot be trusted." More importantly, one tragic U.S. misadventure did more than anything else to harden Arab attitudes. A U.S. guarantee of safety for the Palestinians remaining in Beirut had been an integral part of the agreement under which the PLO evacuated Lebanon. Nevertheless, Reagan declined to withdraw the Marines, dispatched to Beirut on Aug. 23, 1982, after only two weeks. In spite of opposition from the three other peacekeeping nations. A few days later, on Sept. 13, Phalangists began their three-day massacre of more than 800 Palestinian and Lebanese women and children in the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps. Two late, the Marines were rushed back to Beirut. As one very senior Kuwaiti official said at the time: "We have lost what is most precious on the humanitarian level. Without respect there was in the Arab world for the United States as a moral authority has been lost."

As a consequence, the Reagan administration today faces a clear-cut dilemma: to maintain the Marines, risking another massacre and the ensuing world anger or leave 1,200 U.S. soldiers caught in the cross fire, risking more military deaths and negative public opinion at home. In Washington the stage is set for a congressional debate on U.S. policy in Lebanon when Congress convenes this week. Despite recent U.S. fatalities and pressure by minor congressmen for a more explicit endorsement of the U.S. presence in Lebanon, the White House has been receiving support to win passage of congressional legislation authorizing a continued stay. Indeed, White House spokesman Larry Speakes told reporters last week that there is "no chance whatsoever" that the Marines will be withdrawn. "Should the Lebanese forces be withdrawn," he explained, "there is a distinct possibility of a full-scale war in Lebanon." However, as reports of atrocities continued to filter out of the combat areas in and around Beirut, it was difficult to imagine how the violence could get much worse.

With John Wayne in Beirut and Michael Power in Washington.



Shamir (left); Opposition Leader Shimon Peres, engulfed by infighting



Shamir's hunt for support

In public, Israeli prime minister-Yitzhak Shamir rattled Lebanese about his prospects of succeeding outgoing Prime Yashir Mawneh. Behind the scenes, Shamir has been forging for some time a coalition of support. Shamir, in turn, sought to bring together Begin's coalition of seven parties and secure his position as prime minister-designate. But his task was complicated by the demands of his coalition partners and by the deteriorating situation in Lebanon.

As Israeli forces pulled back brutally to the Aali River from Beirut and the Chouf Mountains, there were signs that Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens were also leading a unified front from the Begin government's hand in Lebanon. In an interview with the *Jewishness Post* which marked the Jewish New Year, Arens indicated that Israeli troops would retreat still further—inside their own borders—provided that Syrian troops or Palestinian Liberation Organization guerrillas did not seek to fill the vacuum. Arens made no mention of Israel's previous insistence on a simultaneous Syrian withdrawal.

Despite Arens' cautioning tone, so-called intelligence reports in Israel and abroad emphasized the potential that the first-stage withdrawal would save lives and equipment. Israeli army radio claimed that PLO guerrillas were fighting with the Druze militia.

Questions about the removal of the PLO threat to the church added to uneasiness about Shamir's attempts at coalition-building in Jerusalem. His elevation

seemed to be a foregone conclusion when Herat, the dominant partner in Begin's Likud coalition, selected Shamir. But the surprise last week seemed more problematic as infighting engulfed the coalition partners. First, the three TAMI party MPs demanded the removal of a recent vote tax increase and cuts in pension and military benefits. Then the Labor Party, the second-largest member of the coalition, erupted in anger after reports that former defense minister Ariel Sharon would become chairman of the ministerial committee on settlements—a powerful body that oversees Jewish activities on the West Bank and Golan Strip. Sharon has been in the shadows since the Kahan Commission criticized his actions during last year's Beirut massacre. Finally, the ultra-orthodox Agudat Israel Party demanded a ban on archaeological digs at ancient Jewish sites and changes in Israel's Law of Return that would deny citizenship to persons converted to Judaism by other than Orthodox rabbis.

An oppositionist named Shamir defiantly predicted that he would obtain the coalition's endorsement this week, leaving Begin free to officially assume his resignation. At that point, the president could ask Shamir to form a government. The new prime minister faces daunting problems. Inflation is running at more than 130 per cent, and the balance-of-trade deficit currently is \$2.06 billion, compared to \$3.75 billion a year ago. Foreign reserves fell by \$770 million in August alone. And as Lebanese moves closer to disintegration, there is always the possibility that Israeli troops will once again be drawn into the fighting. —ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem.

The performers in a recurring tragedy

The factions that confront each other in Lebanon are hopelessly varied.

To present a coherent portrait, *Middle East* correspondent John Wright compiled a guide to the religious, tribal and political loyalties of the groups and outside forces that are shaping the conflict-ridden country's future. His report.

The Shi'ites More than one million strong in an estimated population of 3.5 million, Lebanon has had no success since 1920, the Shi'ites are by far the country's largest religious group. Members of the same branch of Muslim faith as Iran's ayatollahs, the Lebanese Shi'ites' traditional base was in the south. But border raids by Israel in the 1960s and 1970s and the invasion of 1982, as well as the continuing civil strife, have driven hundreds of thousands of them to take shelter in the host-towns in Beirut's southern suburbs. The leading Shi'ite political faction is Amal but Shi'ites are also powerful in Lebanon's two Communist parties.

The Maronites The largest of the country's 12 Christian sects, the 500,000 Maronites control most of the levers of power under the 1943 National Constitution. The Maronites are well trained, class-conscious and disciplined. **The Sunnis** With more than 350,000 followers, they are the country's second-largest Muslim group. But the Sunnis are not as united as the Shi'ites and Druze. The largest of more than a dozen Sunni militias is the 4,000-member Ma'nourah, which joined with the Shi'ite Amal organization last week in fighting the Lebanese Army in West Beirut.

The Druze A heretical Muslim sect, the Druze fled from Egypt almost 300 years ago to avoid religious persecution, settling in the then isolated Chouf Mountains. Currently there are some 280,000 in Lebanon and significant minorities in Syria, Israel and Jordan. The Druze are ascetic in their religion. They withhold their votes even from their own people before a national election, usually in middle age. They believe an earthquake in 1982, which may account for the fading of their fighters. Their leader is Walid Junblatt, who inherited the position upon the shocking death in 1977 of his father, Kamal Junblatt. A former Lebanese cabinet minister, Junblatt is Lebanon's foremost leftist and leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, founded by his father. He seeks to force the Christian-dominated government of Amn Gemayel into negotiations on political reform. The persistent strength of the Druze militia is a factor in the all-Lebanese militia. U.S. military sources put it at less than 1,000. However, the Druze can act on several thousand "volunteers," trained men who leave their businesses and homes when the call comes. The Druze militia, sup-

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Phalange-dominated "Lebanese Forces" militia (distinct from the Lebanese Army) has 2,000 full-time fighters. Reservists bring the total strength up to about 8,000. Supplied by the Israelis, the fiercely militant Phalange party was founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel. Arabic fighters, on principle, shun to those sponsored by former Spanish dictator Francisco Franco and Italy's Benito Mussolini.

The Lebanese Army Under the command of Gen. Hinkis Tannous, a former Phalange officer who was appointed last December, it has about 35,000 personnel. The army distributed to sectarian factions during the 1975-1976 civil war. But with the aid of U.S. advisers, the government has tried to restore it as a unified force whose ranks reflect the nation's religious mix. The effort has been only partially successful. The officer corps still is overwhelmingly Maronite, and the ranks are well short of the projected total strength of 65,000 by the end of 1984.

The Multinational Force (MNF) First deployed in August, 1982, to oversee the evacuation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the MNF returned in September after the assassination of pro-Israelist cabinet member Bashir Gemayel and the massacre of an estimated 800 Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps south of Beirut. Its mandate is to protect civilians and support the legitimate authorities of Lebanon. The MNF includes 1,500 U.S. Marines, posted around Beirut airport, 2,500 British in Palestinian refugee camps and 350 in Lebanon, 1,000 French, mainly Foreign Legionnaires, in mountainous and reconstituted districts of West Beirut and part of Sabra, and 100 British troops, who do most reconnaissance.

The United States after its withdrawal from Beirut, the Israeli army still controls all Lebanon south of the Aali River. On its eastern flank, it is still close to the Syrians and its heavy artillery range of Damascus. Total strength in Lebanon is about 80,000. The Syrian Army, 40,000 Syrians control the eastern Bekaa Valley and northern Lebanon. Within Syrian-controlled territory there are about 10,000 PLO guerrillas and a battalion each of Libyan and Iranian revolutionary guards.



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Mourning families of jet crash victims, UN Security Council debate, anti-Soviet rally in Ottawa: dramatic developments.

KOREA

The diplomatic outrage over KAL 007

By Michael Posner

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz rarely shows such rage. The normally affable Shultz emerged from a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Madrid last week and denounced as "preposterous" and "totally unacceptable" the Soviet Union's official explanation for its Sept. 1 downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Furious at Moscow's continuing refusal to apologize for the murder of 269 people aboard the Boeing 747 and to offer compensation to their families, Shultz cut short his two-hour parley with Gromyko, declaring, "Further discussion would not be productive."

The diplomatic freeze was the focal point of a week of dramatic reversals from the airliner tragedy. The body of a young child was found by a Japanese fishing boat near the crash site of the downed airliner, and quantities of wreckage, apparently from the aircraft, were washed up on the shores of southern Japan. In Seoul more than 100,000 mourners packed a stadium for a memorial service for the 269 airline victims. And in Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Allan Rock gave the Soviet Embassy formal notice that Canada is seeking formal reparations for the families of the 39 Canadian victims aboard the ill-fated flight. At the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Jeane

Kirkpatrick played audio tapes of three Soviet pilots' conversations with their ground stations. In the heated Security Council session, in the tense, sometimes impatient words of the pilots left no doubt that a Soviet interceptor deliberately downed the Korean jet with heat-seeking missiles. Mirrors after Kirkpatrick spoke, the Kremlin finally accepted responsibility but claimed that the Korean plane's route over na-

The Soviets refused to provide a credible explanation for shooting down Flight 007—and the mystery deepened

tive Soviet military installations was part of a U.S. sponsored spy mission. In Madrid, addressing the European Security Conference as human rights, Gromyko struck an equally self-righteous note. He overrode that Soviet aviator was "nauseated" and wanted that similar punishment would follow other violations of the country's sovereign borders. In response, a combative Shultz reactively observed, "The Soviet Union defines its security in a way so absolute, self-contained and cynical that it poses a threat to all other countries." In Moscow, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov,

the Soviet chief of staff and high-ranking military officer, told an unprecedented two-hour press conference that pilots had been unable to identify the Korean plane as a civilian aircraft due to darkness and heavy cloud cover. Ogarkov also repeated Kremlin assertions that the plane had turned off its navigational lights, a charge apparently contradicted by the conversation tapes played at the UN, in which Soviet pilots mentioned the highly visible stripe lights as well as the regular navigation lights on the airliner. As well, there was no reference on the tapes to the tracer bullets that the Kremlin claimed one pilot had fired as a warning.

In Washington the state department dismissed Ogarkov's statements as "hogwash" and the "same old line." Spokesman Alan Roesberg observed that the Kremlin press conference did not offer tangible evidence of the spy mission charge or of Soviet efforts to force the plane to land safely on Soviet territory. The United States provided some ammunition for the Soviet version when it revealed that a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, an RC-135, had flown an espionage mission in international air space and passed, at one point, within 70 nautical miles of the Korean plane. But U.S. officials said that there was no radio contact between the planes. If the Korean airliner was actually spying, analysts added, it would hardly have

Sown a route that was so unvarying in altitude and direction. Moreover, Washington suggested that if the Soviets truly believed the Korean jet was spying, they would have made a concerted attempt to force the plane to land—to secure a propaganda coup and to recover the espionage equipment.

Meanwhile, President Ronald Reagan wove high marks for his administration's restrained handling of the incident. The only criticism came from the Republican right, which lamented the softness of the retaliatory measures. In a television address, Reagan asked other Western nations for a temporary ban on Aeroflot flights to the West and cancelled some U.S.-Soviet cultural and scientific exchanges. Later, the president ordered Aeroflot's two U.S. sales offices closed, expelled the airline's employees and suspended its right to sell tickets through U.S. carriers. But the administration has clearly ruled out more punitive steps as counterproductive.

Washington's efforts to rally international support registered mixed results. While the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations announced a 60-day ban on flights to the Soviet Union, the pilots' demand for a show of their respective governments' support was unavailing. The exception was Canada, which—before Reagan spoke—banned Aeroflot flights to Montreal for 60 days, although flights to Cuba and Mexico will continue.



to refuse in Gander, Nfld., and Anstruth, which barred its national airlines from carrying Soviet diplomats. But most Western governments appeared to lack the will for concerted retaliation. In Madrid, Shultz called an emergency meeting of NATO foreign ministers, seeking a unified response to the KAL incident. The ministers pledged support for South Korea's request for apologies and reparations and agreed to back efforts to draft new international rules governing procedures for civilian aircraft. The International Civil Aviation Organization is scheduled to take up the proposal this week in Montreal. But not all governments were in favor of the suggested two-week moratorium on flights to and from the Soviet Union. The intention was to send the Kremlin, as West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher put it last week, "a political slap." But France, Greece, Spain and Turkey demurred, so the signal was garbled.

Still, the airliner attack—and the Kremlin's belligerent response—clearly represented a major public relations victory for the West. Without gloating, the White House noted that the Soviet union had backed, but not surprised, the administration. Public anger, meanwhile, was almost palpable in Canada, the United States, Japan and South Korea. Hundreds of demonstrators marched on Soviet embassies, burning the Soviet flag and effigies

of Soviet President Yuri Andropov. The Moscow Circus, its nine-city Canadian tour abruptly cancelled by promoters across the country, found itself briefly stranded in Halifax, along with eight bears and nine horses. Nine state guard movements in the United States passed or boycotted Stokely Carmichael, a Soviet rocket. Longhorns in Los Angeles refused to visit a Soviet freighter.

To meet Western concerns, the decision to destroy the aircraft—Ogarkov attributed it to a regional air commander, with apparent approval by senior Soviet officials in Moscow—was a serious miscalculation. In its wake, the Japanese are likely to answer Washington's repeated calls for higher levels of defense spending. And Andropov's personal offensive after the airline tragedy, the West Europeans are more likely to support NATO's deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles later this year.

Western analysts believe that the attack seriously injured Soviet strategic interests. But that judgment only renders the disaster all the more laughable. Among the unanswered questions, most is more problematic for Soviet leaders than the degree of Andropov's control over the Soviet military.

For now, it is clear that the superpower relationship has been seriously ruptured. A scheduled Malta-Gosropo meeting at the UN later this month may be cancelled, and Reagan has announced plans for a major address on the world situation. Conceivably, a Soviet crash-down might define tensions. But such a move appears unlikely. The more realistic prospect is for continued strain, with super arm repulsion on both sides, and all the attendant dangers.

West, Air, from Moscow, Ottawa and Tokyo

Shultz: 'Totally unacceptable'



The final decision to shoot to kill

A Soviet and Western diplomats traded diplomatic volleys last week over the destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, aviation investigators found the most promising task of uncovering facts about a disaster that claimed 269 lives. In Washington, government officials assembled a team of American and South Korean accident specialists to re-create the doomed Boeing 747's final hours. But because their investigation will be limited to the aircraft's navigation system and flight operations, the details of how Flight 007 veered off course and came to its fiery end may never be known.

Apart from the pivotal question of why the 747 flew 318 miles off course and into a Soviet airspace, Moscow failed to provide a satisfactory explanation of why a Soviet pilot fired upon a clearly marked civilian airliner. As well, American and Japanese aerial reports about taped messages between Soviet pilots and their ground controllers seem to contradict one another. But most intriguing of all were claims and denials that the Korean airliner was on an intelligence-gathering mission.

Reports dismissed the theory that KAL's Flight 007 strayed off course accidentally. The aircraft had three communications intercepts by the crew at the start of a flight. The third computer acts as a backup. In the case of Flight 007, the computers contained latitudinal and longitudinal checkpoints on the 14-hour journey from New York, through Anchorage, Alaska, to Seoul. Did the flight crew enter the wrong co-ordinates? Not likely, according to KAL officials, who quickly dismissed the suggestion. They said that "input data" filed by the crew at the Anchorage control office was correct. Did the computers fail? "Virtually impossible," said Robert Knapp, a Lorton spokesman. "If an aviation system fails, the [others] take over automatically."

While the impenetrable technical shield remained, there was no doubt that the KAL jet entered a highly sensitive Soviet military zone at an apparently critical time. The Kamchatka peninsula, over which the jet passed, is a landing area for test missiles fired from the central and western Soviet Union. Last week, *New York Times* columnist William Safire asserted that the Soviets were preparing to conduct a major missile test on the day the airliner entered the region.

Safire's suggestion could explain the presence in the region of an American reconnaissance aircraft. The Soviets last week suggested that their intercep-

tor radar blips had merged.

Then there is dispute over radio transmissions from the 747. KAL officials have identified that the ill-fated 747 had experienced technical problems with its radio even before leaving Alaska. Indeed, Japanese air traffic controllers reported receiving garbled transmissions from Flight 007 a few hours before it disappeared. The Soviets insist that they had attempted to contact the KAL pilot and that his failure to respond contributed to their decision to open fire. But U.S. officials maintain that their tape recordings of the Soviet fighter pilot's transmissions show that he never attempted to contact the airliner.

Washington and Tokyo built their dancing case against the Soviets on tape recordings they say were made at top secret intelligence bases in southern Japan. The day after the airliner was shot down, Japan's Kyodo News Agency reported that local intelligence officials had recorded a conversation between Soviet ground controllers and the interceptor pilot which proved that the airliner had been destroyed. But last week in Washington, the U.S. administration said that they had recordings only of the Soviet pilots talking to their ground controllers. Earlier, Western officials had asserted that the ground controllers had been heard ordering the 747's destruction. And when Japanese cabinet secretary Masaharu Gotoda told reporters that the Japanese Agency, which is responsible for intelligence gathering, possessed the full conversation, JDA officials issued an emphatic denial.

The real story of Flight 007 may never become clear. The reason the Korean airliner strayed so tragically far off its course may lie in its flight recorder. Soviet officials last week reported that they had recovered some of the plane's wreckage from the Sea of Japan but did not release details. The lack of evidence made it difficult to quell the "informational" dance over the demise of Flight 007.

—JAMES MITCHELL, with Carol Brennan in Toronto and Peter McCall in Seoul

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Soviet authorities argued that their interceptor gun mistook a Korean Air Lines jumbo jet for a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft.



tor pilots had confused the Boeing 747 with the reconnaissance aircraft, an RC-3B, a military version of the smaller Boeing 707 airliner. According to U.S. military spokesmen, the RC-3B had conducted a "routine" flight from Rapa, which is Alaska's Aleutian archipelago, U.S. officials insist that the aircraft, which is equipped with sensitive microwave-looking airborne radar for monitoring Soviet air-defense assets and missile's tests, never entered Soviet airspace and that the plane returned to Alaska an hour before the Soviet shot down KAL Flight 007. While Washington said that the two planes were never closer than 75 nautical miles, Soviet Chief of Staff Gen. Mikhail Gerasimov, in a rare Moscow press conference, insisted that the two planes had been no close at one point that their



Former Argentina president Isabel Peron in exile discredited and disrespected

ARGENTINA

Peronists freeze out Isabel

For devotion of former Argentine president Isabel Martinez de Peron, last week's ouster of the Justicialista (Peronist) Party in Buenos Aires was a disaster. While paying respect to the country's civilian rule—they elected her to the honorific post of party president—the Peronists chose a smooth, self-spoken and conservative lawyer, Julia Argentino Luder, as their candidate for next month's presidential elections. And while the 46-year-old Luder and other party leaders paid public homage to Peron, the mangle of Luder's history (881 out of 698 delegate votes) made her position eerily clear. Compared with Julia Luder, leader of a pre-1954 faction of the party: "She has been left out in the cold."

Luder's path to the presidency is unlikely to be smooth. He faces an uphill task in imposing his authority on a party mired by problems traceable back to the Peronist's apogee also has faded since the death of the fanatical founder, Juan Domingo Peron, in 1974. While the party has been every free election since 1966, when Peron emerged as the political savior, an opinion poll last week gave it only 38 per cent of the vote and a four-point lead over the middle-class Radical Party. Finally, there was always the possibility that Peron herself, though apparently discredited and discredited, might see last week's garden from her assumption for corruption to return from exile in Spain to reclaim the old fires of Peronism.

For the moment, however, Luder's problems lie much closer to home. He was the nominee because after 30

years in politics—three as a senator—he had far fewer enemies than any other candidate. But his constituency, professional manner will not help him to dominate the party. Real power is shared among its vice-president, metalworkers' labor union boss Lorenzo Miguel, who has been publicly accused of having one of his bodyguards murdered, and Iluminato Aguirre, another leader of the violence-prone metalworkers' union. Luder's chief political challenge is from Radical Party standard-bearer Rodolfo Albornoz, a 68-year-old former senator who opposes a reduced role for the military and justice for the so-called "dirty war" in the late 1970s.

However, campaigning has yet to begin in earnest. There was widespread anger among Argentines—last week's poll indicated that 50 per cent of voters are indifferent to the Oct. 30 ballot. At the same time, both Peronist and Radical parties are competing their rhetoric, fearing that hard-liners within the outgoing military will take advantage of any divisions to ferment the return to civilian rule.

Indeed, even if Luder succeeds in being elected, major problems will be ahead. As well as an inflation rate of 900 per cent, defeat in last year's Falklands War and seemingly endless recalcitrance of military brutality and corruption have transmuted Argentines. Luder, mired in his own exile, under fire, could still find the country's situation too hot to handle.

—JAMES MITCHELL in Buenos Aires

THE BAHAMAS

Shadowy tales of deals in the shade

Famously American financier Robert Vesco has defied the IRS for almost 12 years. He disappeared from New York in 1976 after allegedly defrauding the Investors Overseas Service (IOS) mutual fund of \$284 million. Vesco, who was indicted in 1976 for "kept president's wallet," vanished from his home in the Bahamas in 1978 just ahead of a deportation order from the government of Prime Minister Sir Lynden Pindling. U.S. justice department officials charged Vesco, along with Canadian accountant Norman Le Boute, with swindling his funds. Previous to his sojourn in the Bahamas, Vesco had set up in Costa Rica, where he tried without success to become a citizen. His current whereabouts are unknown, but last week Vesco's name was again linked to the Bahamas in a document and, for funding, information news report, NRC. It reported that Vesco made a major cocaine distribution network in the Bahamas and that his associates are paying as much as \$100,000 in bribes each month to Bahamian officials.

Pindling, who has governed the Bahamas since 1967, reacted angrily to the report. He called it "a criminally conceived plot against the Bahamas" and demanded that President Ronald Reagan investigate the story. Then, Pindling hired ex-cop and U.S. lawyer R. Lee Bailey, who is a part-time resident of the Bahamas, to study legal action against NRC. But that move did little to defuse the negative publicity. The Pindling government has endured since the 1970 report, especially since confirmation that the archipelago, only 100 km off the U.S. coast, is a haven for drug-smuggling operations.

According to NRC, the 67-year-old Vesco had a cocaine "empire" based on Nassau, Oct. 4. He had set up a land 325 km southeast of Miami in the Grand Bahama island chain. NRC reporter Brian Ross told viewers that the island's facilities include a 40-million airstrip capable of accommodating jet aircraft as well as eight gunboats, two frigates for storing cocaine. The proprietor and current owner of the 165-acre resort on which the airstrip is located is International Dutch Resources Ltd., which in turn is controlled by Jan Leander, a Colombian national. The FBI reportedly has been unable to locate Vesco, although the agency refused to confirm the story.

The Pindling government last week responded to Ross's report by firing a small group of reporters to Norman's

day. There they found only a short runway, two decrepit light aircraft and a contingent of Bahamian policemen armed with submachineguns.

Bahamians offered little more difficult to answer allegations that they took payments from Vesco associates. According to NBC, the FBI planned to arrest the Bahamian minister of youth sports and community affairs, Kendall Nettles, for taking bribes. The plan was to lure Nettles outside Bahamian waters and film him on a private boat while agents offered him money. Nettles, for his part, issued a statement last week harshly denying that he knows Vesco. And Pfundling added that he was "astounded that no member of my government has been involved in any drug activity."

The FBI apparently dropped its plan to arrest Nettles after U.S. Ambassador to the Bahamas Lee Dobransky refused. It NBC noted that the United States is in the midst of delicate negotiations with the Pfundling government over a submarine testing base in the Bahamas and did not want to jeopardize the deal by humiliating Pfundling. In an interview, Dobransky explained his intervention by stating that in Washington's relations with Nassau "there are many other things that, over the long run, would be more important than drugs."

Still, the Bahamas has become a major staging ground for drug smuggling operations. The archipelago includes more than 1,000 small islands and secluded cays, making it a haven for smugglers and a headache for drug enforcement authorities. At the same time, rival gangs of smugglers have waged only battles over cocaine and marijuana shipments, sometimes murdering innocent sailors who wander into the waters of the country. While it is impossible to estimate how much cocaine is entering North America through the Bahamas, the street value of what little is seized is staggering. In a single haul last year, the U.S. Coast Guard took more than 100 million dollars' worth of cocaine near the Bahamian island of Bimini.

Pfundling has ordered Bahamian officials to conduct a full investigation of NBC's charges and stated prominently, Bahamian justice Sir James Smith, 76, to lead a royal commission on the matter. Pfundling instructed Smith to seek out "the fearless and fearless British to seek out the fearless and fearless British who are making outlandish and baseless charges against government officials." But with that mandate, critics of the Pfundling government point out, the prime minister may be more interested in clearing the names of his associates than investigating Robert Vesco's alleged presence in the Bahamas.

—PETER KERNAN in Athens



Swiss troops outside UN computer disrupt the precautions, a peaceful meeting

THE MIDDLE EAST

The rights to coexistence

The Israelis disclosed the United Nations' first conference on Palestine as a forum for "spreading peace and hatred." Washington joined them in a boycott, while Canada and 10 other Western nations sent only low-level observers. The Swiss, who agreed to host the talks after the French refused, named it as a massive security headache. Troops staged the UN camp in Geneva with barbed wire and armed troops that they would be shot if they failed to stop on command. But despite the reservations, the 10-day conference ended peacefully last week—and with a compromise in which the Israeli states for the first time implicitly recognized Israel's right to exist.

The historic declaration, which now goes before the UN General Assembly for debate, recognizes the right of all states in the area to "coexistence with secure and internationally recognized boundaries." It also calls for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and for a UN conference on the Middle East at which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate fully. The fact that Libya, Syria and Iran all signed the declaration prompted one observer last week to remark, "In the context of current tensions in the Middle East [their agreement] is nothing short of amazing."

The treaty also was an important victory for the UN's embattled chairman, Yasser Arafat, who made a surprise trip to the conference from his base in Tunisia. Despite his accusations that the United States has brought about the

"present cruel fighting on Lebanese territory," observers reported that Arafat had delivered a restrained speech. The leader of Israel's Peace Now movement, Uri Avneri, publicly embraced Arafat. Avneri attended the Geneva conference as an observer and later described Arafat's performance as "masterly."

The UN played a pivotal role in the tense negotiations which led to last week's declaration. Its delegation, led by the UN's diplomatic chief, Yasuaki Kadohara, joined with Jordan, Sweden and Finland and blocked a move by Arab hard-liners to dilute the conference to Israel's rights to exist. Significantly, after another consensus by Arab hard-liners, the final draft went one step beyond the so-called PLO declaration adopted by Arab heads of state in Morocco last year. That consensus called for a Palestinian capital in Jerusalem, an article conspicuous by its absence in last week's Geneva declaration.

Despite the consensus's moderate tone, Jerusalem was quick to dismiss the proceedings in Geneva as "an exercise in futility." Still, many participants concluded that the conference gave a much needed boost to the UN's prestige. The world body has failed repeatedly to solve Middle East strife, both through its largely ignored peacekeeping forces and through heated but unproductive debate. But most of all the final declaration only strengthened Arafat's image as a moderate force in Middle East politics. The new representatives call "the great barrier" had again confounded his critics. —IAN GILBERT in Geneva

SPORTS

The old game suffers in the New World

In the 17th year of his fragile life, the North American Soccer League has confronted a depressing and expensive truth as the playoffs continue this week: the world's most popular game has bitten off a continent it cannot chew.

The Seattle Sounders, a cornerstone franchise and finalist in the NASL championship Soccer Bowl last September, struggled all season to pay its players. Last week the club folded, owing nearly \$1 million. In Montreal, where the Mils did more than \$600 to a league game last two years ago, attendance has plummeted in Toronto, despite the Rapids' acquisition of Italian top-tier Roberto Ruffini. The season has turned into a running joke. Only Vancouver seems optimistic to the plight of professional soccer. The Whitecaps, who drew a scanty 60,000 fans to the new B.C. Place for the domed stadium's first sports event in June, have sold more than 40,000 tickets for next month's Soccer Bowl there, in which the Whitecaps play its last game.

On the basis of their regular season record, the expectation is legitimate. The Whitecaps, coached by an amiable 40-year-old Irishman, Johnny Giles, won 24 games and lost only six. Last week the team's recent hold when the Whitecaps' patent performance produced a 1-4 win over Toronto in the first of a three-game opening-round playoff series.

Disappointingly, however, only 22,000 spectators gathered behind the domed roof to see 36-year-old midfielder Peter Lorinser set up the goal by Alan Taylor with only 11 minutes to go in the game.

The second game was scheduled for Toronto this week, and Lorinser, before, pressing an on pitch on an angry red wall or his head the result of a particularly savage tackle—wanted a quick kick. "There's no doubt we have the edge now," said Lorinser. "And quite frankly I believe we will be doing the league a favor if we knock it around."

Toronto coach Bobby Hodgeon, an Englishman whose organizational abilities are well respected and who is a contender for the job of coaching Canada's national world cup team, angrily rebuffed the Lorinser claim, saying

"This isn't over by any means. We created better chances. I'm upset we didn't take them."

But Lorinser remains unpersuaded. "They pack their defense, play the offense game, and hope to sneak a goal or two. It was a great achievement in a

lot of time," says Whitecaps President Peter Bridgewater, a 40-year-old Englishman who three years ago abandoned a business career at home in favor of selling the game to North America. "The trouble is the league has to perform in being around when it happens. I think we will do it, though. I have to admit that there are a lot of mistakes in the air obviously. I'm depressed by a crowd of 22,000 for a playoff game, but there are some huge reasons. For a start, Toronto hasn't played the ideal of soccer that fills stadiums, not in North America, or anywhere."

For his part, Vancouver manager Giles, a 39-year veteran of the English and Irish leagues, has assembled a team of workaholics with some bright, young North Americans. In his recent game Giles had seven North Americans on the field, three more than the league requires. Says Giles, "In North America soccer will be a life-and-death situation. The good thing we keep saying back to us is that it is a great game. Only a great game could have survived some of the mistakes that have been made here."

The most dramatic mistake was the decision by former team commissioner Phil Woodman to allow unfettered, unsanctioned expenses from eight to 30 clubs in six years North America and the game simply were not ready, despite Woodman's boast following superstar Pelé's arrival in 1976 that the NASL would rival the National Football League.

The league's current commissioner, Howard Rosenberg, a prominent businessman and sometime politician, is more realistic. Next season he plans to have European and South American clubs make guest appearances in the NASL regular season. The league also would close points in league standings, the guests would be given financial guarantees.

"Soccer needs to grow up here," says Bridgewater. "Having lions like Liverpool and Bayern Muenchen will help. And so will 60,000 fans cheering the Whitecaps in the Soccer Bowl." "We took a big gamble out here," says Bridgewater. "I think we can pull it off." Adds Lorinser: "Age, we need to win—for ourselves and for the old game." ☐



Taylor (left) and teammate, veteran workhorse

AP/WIDEWORLD

Theatre critics went wild over **Lauren Zeem's** re-creation of **Marilyn Monroe** in the musical *Hey, Marilyn* three years ago at Edmonton's Citadel Theatre. "I have never seen it and place for more than three months since," said Zeem. The 25-year-old Australian-born actress has now appeared in 11 Canadian feature films and television dramas, but "most were trashy, quick-burner movies," she said. "I'm tired of being lumped off in weird ways on screen." Next month Zeem will play a Lolita-like stripper opposite **Robert Gould's** lonely professor in *Jeune fille*, the first production of Montreal-based **Asuka Films**. Zeem was under contract to **Hakkia's Neptune Theatre** when Gould saw footage of her performance in a film called *The Black Mirror* last month. "He just turned and said, 'I want her!'" Zeem recounted, which was fortunate for her because Neptune did not. "Neptune fired me," she said. "Now I can do the film with a free conscience, make 15 times more money and have a good role."



Zeem: "Tired of being lumped off in weird ways"

Rough Trade, a rock group that is famous for its provocative music and outrageous lyrics, opened two shows for David Byrne on his North American tour last week. But **Kevie Staples**, 38, the band's chief arranger,

and fashion designer **Marilyn Kiewit**, 38, staged a show of their own two days earlier, when they were quietly married, all dressed in white. Rock singer **Hona Hanley** flew in from New York to sing *The Lord's Prayer*, and **Cecile Pope**, **Rough Trade's** controversial vocalist and Staples' friend and musical partner for the past 16 years, was the "best man."

The waits for no man, not even the president of the United States. For the first time, last week 72-year-old **Ronald Reagan** publicly sported a custom-made hearing aid in his right ear. He did so on the advice of Dr. **John William House**, an associate of the House Ear Institute, who has treated Reagan for hearing loss since 1973. The president's difficulties began in the 1960s, during the filming of a movie, when a 30-caliber pistol discharged near his head, apparently affecting more than his hearing, since he can no longer remember which movie. In recent years reporters have been told to speak loudly when addressing him. Now there is renewed speculation that Reagan's age will be an

issue if he seeks re-election next year—despite the fact that his hair remains dark, against all odds.

If the glittering audiences at the gala opening night of Toronto's Festival of Festivals last week expected **Kevie Kline** to exhibit the same flamboyance that characterized his performances as the brilliantly insane Nathan in *Spain's Choice* and a swashbuckler in *The Prisoner of Penzance*, they were surprised. Kline was distinctly subdued when he attended the world premiere of *The Spy Child*—also starring **William Hurt**, **Gwen Cline** and **Jeffrey Weiss**. In **Lawrence Kasdan's** second feature film as writer-director, **Kline**, 36, plays "the perfect husband." For once he is the calm at the heart of an emotional storm. Kline is aware of the contrast. In *The Spy Child*, he said, his role was to question the revolutionary attitudes of the rest of the cast. In real life, as it happens, Kline admits that he is "more stable than invisible," but the St. Louis native refuses to speculate just how much more. He inadvertently hinted at it, however, when he described *Child* as "a sweet film with no car chases and nobody killing anybody." But he was also attracted to the film because "none of the characters was whiterashed," he said. "They all had good and bad sides." ☐

Kline swashbuckler or perfect husband?



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Labor activity in São Paulo, Brazil (below), could bring unnecessary misery to millions of Brazilians.

BUSINESS

The political perils of the debt crisis

By James Fleming

A s international lenders watched with trepidation, ministers from 21 nations of the Organization of American States gathered in Caracas last week for an unprecedented meeting. Their purpose: to hammer out a list of common sense that Latin America's foreign creditors must meet in order to ease the region's punishing \$300-billion debt load. After five days of negotiating, the ministers failed to produce a final declaration and only agreed to set up a committee to study the debt problem further. Still, debtor inflexibility is clearly on the rise in Latin America, with grave implications for North American leaders. There is a growing conviction in Latin America that the harsh terms imposed by the IMF and Western banks in return for credit are unjust, often unpredictable, and threaten to worsen the three-year-old recession affecting the region.

Indeed, the failure to agree on a list of demands largely reflected the reluctance of the Latin American delegates to offend the U.S. representative at the meeting, Treasury Undersecretary Beryl Sprinkel. And the disputed conclusion of the session did not convey the increasing urgency of the region's debt crisis. Mexico recently agreed on a

\$13.4-billion (U.S.) rescheduling of its \$25-billion foreign debt. But Brazil was in the most difficult position last week as it sought to negotiate a fresh \$5-billion influx of cash from the IMF and private lenders to cope with payments on its \$200-billion debt load, the largest in the world. At the same time, Venezuela was locked in negotiations with foreign banks on an apparently futile attempt to reschedule \$15.4 billion in debt payments. The financial maneuvers gathered in Caracas were also shaped by mounting opposition in their countries to harsh IMF-imposed economic measures.

In Venezuela, Finance Minister Arturo Sosa warned, "cautiously but firmly" the debtors nations threaten to "unjustifiably risk their social and political stability." Despite the unwillingness of some states, particularly Brazil, to jeopardize their relations with the IMF by making drastic demands for concessions, a common sentiment emerged in Caracas. In working to pay and debt proposals that were rejected by the Americans, demands were made for a lowering of interest rates

charged by Western banks, longer grace periods for repayment of debts and an easing of IMF austerity programs. Resistance is widespread among Latin American governments because the bankers are demanding that they accept severe setbacks in wages, public sector deficits and food subsidies at a time when they are also facing a sharp curtailment in new bank lending and extraordinarily high interest rate charges on new loans.

Latin America's financial problems are indeed worsening. According to a recent report by the Inter-American Development Bank, 50 per cent of Latin America's labor force of 180 million is now unemployed or underemployed. And, after experiencing economic growth of about six per cent annually in the 1970s, the region suffered an overall economic contraction of about 12 per cent last year and it is expected to experience a further three-per-cent slide in 1983.

Sosa's recent response to the IMF-imposed austerity programs has fueled in Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela and it threatens to de-



stabilize further the already troubled monetary regimes. Argentina and Chile, but, so far, the movement doesn't have arisen in Brazil, which was rocked by food riots in June and July. Job seekers are also staged frequent riots and looting of supermarkets. Last week Brazilian authorities were ready to agree to terms for a new rescue package with the IMF, worth nearly \$5 billion. That, in turn, would clear the way for another \$4.4 billion in new financing from foreign bankers. But the terms of the package—which include cutting inflation from a current 140 per cent to 50 per cent in 1984, eliminating the public sector deficit and making severe wage cuts—set at the center of a fierce political debate. As a result, Brazil's central bank governor, Carlos Luz, resigned from his post this month, charging that the program would bring unnecessary misery to the millions of Brazilians already on the borderline of starvation. At the same time, leaders of the opposition Frontista Democratic Movement are calling for a moratorium of at least three years on all debt repayments.

For its part, Venezuela, the region's third-largest debtor with nearly \$20 billion in loans outstanding, has proven increasingly intransigent in its negotiations with creditors. After failing in attempts to convince the IMF to ease the terms of an austerity program, Venezuela has broken off those talks and is attempting to refinance \$18.4 billion in debt payments through private banks on the strength of its encouraging balance of payments programs for 1983.

Despite the records of dissent from the debtor nations, their protests are likely to remain mere rhetoric in the near future. A precipitate action, such as declaring a general moratorium on debt payments, would put a tremendous strain on the world economy. But for many debtor nations the cost would be higher. Faced by a credit crunch, they would effectively be handicapped and probably face political turmoil.

As an alternative, IMF authorities and Western banks may say to Latin America's nations to recover first in its increasing exports to the developed world. They contend that the economic recovery in the West will lead to increased export earnings in the region and revive its economies beginning in 1984. But that the nations far from so-called "Washed Within Circle" of the Washington-based Institute for International Economics: "There is a major risk that some of the major countries will reach a political snapping point before the export recovery has occurred in 1984. But that the nations in the region are likely to be discouraged for both the debtor nations and their creditors."

With George Washington in Rhode Island and William Lashley in Washington.

The UAW's double victory

By Ian Austen

For Robert White, the 46-year-old Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, it was a week filled with good fortune. First, he reached a contract agreement with Chrysler Canada Ltd.—an accord that will raise the wages of UAW members at the auto giant company to par with the rest of the auto industry for the first time in four years. Then, the union leader deflected the odds and ended a strike against troubled Massey-Ferguson Ltd. in less than two days without making any major concessions on the part of its 1,600 unionized workers.

The two victories were all the more dramatic because of the drastically different corporate outlooks faced

by the walking through an alligator pond in bedroom slippers.

The Chrysler talks, while successful, were difficult. The wages of Chrysler workers in both Canada and the United States have lagged behind those at Ford, Motor Co. and General Motors Corp., since they reluctantly agreed to contract concessions as part of Chrysler's rescue. Then, as the company's losses were gradually reduced, resentment began growing within Chrysler ranks when it appeared that Chrysler was overlooking their contribution. Last November the Canadian Chrysler workers broke ranks with their U.S. counterparts and launched a strike. They succeeded in getting a contract without making further concessions but they still lacked wage parity. Hence



James (left), White: "I'm walking through an alligator pond in bedroom slippers."

by Chrysler and Massey. For its part, Chrysler has made a remarkable recovery from virtual collapse in 1979. In the first half of this year alone, the Canadian division's parent—Chrysler Corp.—reported a record \$652.6-million (U.S.) profit. Indeed, as healthy in its position that last month Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca paid Chrysler \$80 million (U.S.) in emergency loans from Washington seven years before they were due. But Massey faces bleak prospects. Sales in the first six months of the year have fallen 28 per cent, to \$946 million (U.S.), although losses have narrowed from \$122.7 million to \$39.2 million during the same period. Said White before the Massey walkout: "This one is

invited the union back to the bargaining table just before Labor Day. Both the new U.S. contract, which was reached on Labor Day, and the Canadian agreement, put together the following day, will wipe out the 40-year wage gap with Ford and sit over the next two years. By the time the contract expires, Chrysler Canada workers—who now earn \$13.25 an hour—will earn \$13.97 an hour.

The quick result seemed to please not just the union. For Chrysler, the settlement means that labor strife will not interfere with the introduction of its new T-115 van wagon. Due to enter production in a totally revamped plant in Windsor next month, the T-115 is a

salad-dance, front-wheel-drive van which many industry observers believe will be highly successful. Says Chrysler spokesman Walter McCauley of the settlement, "We're very pleased to be able to share our recent success with our employees." Indeed, the only resentment remaining after the talks was a result of the union's failure to win job guarantees for 300 workers at a Windsor spring plant which is soon to be shut down.

But even before the Massey-Ferguson walkout began, the situation there looked bleak. Reeling from losses of \$1.3 billion since 1978, it has chopped its international payroll from \$6,000 to \$2,000 in five years and it is entirely phasing out its massive U.S. operation by the end of this year. Before last week's contract talks began, the company indicated to the union that it would likely lay off temporarily the remaining 1,500 Canadian workers in November, regardless of the negotiations. The reason, says Massey, has remained its losses by cost cutting, the once mighty firm is still faced with slumping demand for its products. Says Massey spokesman Frank McLaughlin, "European sales have held up very nicely. But North America keeps going down and down and down."

The talks between Massey and the UAW seemed doomed at the start. "They all seem difficult, but two days ago this one seemed unsolvable," said White later. But throughout the negotiations White stuck to Canadian UAW's anti-concession stance, while the company demanded a number of giveaways, including elimination of a cost-of-living adjustment. On the other side, the union was essentially asking for a year's extension of the contract which applied at the beginning of the month.

Forty-eight hours of almost continuous bargaining eventually broke the deadlock, and the picture disappeared from Massey's plants in Toronto and Bradford, Ont. The union emerged largely victorious with the old agreement extended for two more years. The workers agreed to a reduction in a bonus formula for good work attendance. There will be no general wage increase, but the contract's cost-of-living provisions are expected to raise an assembler's base wage of \$13.25 an hour to \$14.45 an hour by 1986 if inflation averages 5.5 per cent.

But Massey workers' return to work may be a brief one. Indeed, during the talks Massey agreed to set up a \$1-million supplementary unemployment insurance benefit fund to aid victims of upcoming layoffs. As an outcome White said after emerging from negotiations, "We just have to hope the marketplace picks up or we will all be in trouble." □



Part of Braniff's proposed fleet; Pfitzer (below): formidable obstacle

A new flight plan for Braniff

When Dallas-based Braniff Airlines emerged all its flights, about 9,000 employees home and filed for reorganization under U.S. bankruptcy laws in May, 1982, few analysts believed that the 61-year-old carrier could fly again. But now the company seems to be on the verge of redefining itself. Armed with a brush new boss and an influx of \$70 million in cash and loans, the airline is poised to restart operations, although it is drastically scaled-down from what was an undermanned new name.

The would-be savior of Braniff is 61-year-old Jay Pfitzer. He has already earned a reputation as a shrewd invest-

or and tough bargainer as chairman of the Chicago-based Hyatt Corp., a company which runs 70 hotels in the United States and 72 worldwide. This month Pfitzer was approved in federal bankruptcy court for his bid to revive Braniff. Under the scheme, Pfitzer will own 80 per cent of Braniff in return for investing about \$20 million in cash and obtaining loan commitments for another \$50 million. Braniff's secured creditors will own the majority of Braniff's assets, including all aircraft that will be leased to the airline.

The new carrier will be a dramatically reduced version of Braniff. It will operate about 30 of its old fleet of Boeing 720s which have been standing idle for 18 months and employ 1,000 people. But the task of getting the airline back in the air will not be easy. Indeed, while the new Braniff is expected to focus on businessmen as its clients and will be able to use Pfitzer's powerful marketing arm to attract business, it still faces formidable obstacles. It will have to break the stronghold that its two rivals, American and Delta, hold on air traffic at Braniff's old home base, the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport. Not only that, but Pfitzer is attempting to revive Braniff at a time when the whole industry is suffering from overcapacity and poor profitability. Still, for Braniff's creditors the scheme is at least preferable to the losses that they would suffer if the airline were liquidated. And for the skeptical Pfitzer, the chance to reinstate Braniff is another chance to strengthen his formidable reputation as a corporate wizard.

—JAMES FLEMING in Toronto



Creating a new European giant

Where Max Grundig, the elderly chief of the West German electrical goods company Grundig A.G., suggested in Berlin last week that he will consider selling his company to the powerful Dutch conglomerate Philips, the reverberations spread worldwide. The merger would create a corporate giant with marketing clout that could challenge the ever-swelling tide of Japanese video recorders, stereo and color television sets in Europe. But the 70-year-old Grundig revealed that Philips will soon raise its stake in his firm from 24.5 per cent to a blocking majority of just over 50 per cent. Then a Grundig spokesman in Berlin declared that Philips "will perhaps try for 51 per cent in four or five years."

Philips' takeover of Grundig, Germany's top consumer electronics group, would create a European giant capable of competing with Japan in sales. Grundig's turnover last year was roughly \$2.2 billion, and Philips' world sales in consumer electronics approached \$4.4 billion in 1981. "We are positively keen Grundig's statement about increasing Philips' share in Grundig. We have always wanted this,"

said a Philips spokesman in Eindhoven, headquarters of the Dutch multinational that employs 340,000 workers in 60 countries. But Philips' stance may still be premature. To acquire more than 25 per cent of Grundig's shares Philips must first win the approval of the West German antitrust board, which earlier this year vetoed a bid by France's Thomson-Brandt to buy a 75-per-cent share in Grundig for \$270 million. Grundig's

Philips' takeover of Grundig might create a European giant capable of competing with the sales power of Japan

conservative cabinet was reportedly reluctant to see an important German firm passing to the control of a company owned by France's socialist government.

But neither Grundig nor Philips are strong resistors when they approach the German antitrust board. Still, even a Philips-Grundig union may not be able to break the Japanese stronghold on the European electronics market. For one thing, Japan

supplies more than 80 per cent of video recorders in European homes, despite an agreement to voluntarily limit exports to the Continent. For another, although Grundig and Philips jointly developed the Video 2000 recording system, their product's share of the European market has plunged from an initial 50 per cent to just 15 per cent. The outlook for color television is less bleak, but Japan's overall share of that market is nudging 50 per cent—and still advancing. "All Europe can do now is fight a holding action," said a European Community spokesman in Brussels. "There's little hope of reversing the situation in less than a decade."

For Max Grundig, last week's overture to Philips amounted to an admission of defeat. Starting in 1983 as an obscure radio dealer in the West German town of Pforth, Grundig parlayed an idea—selling kits for tubular radios—into a multimillion-dollar concern with a legendary name for reliability. Grundig achieved his greatest successes in the 1960s when television became popular in Germany. Then the arrival of color screens—and the Japanese—forced Grundig into a new niche. Said a senior company official, "Grundig, active as it is, realized it is not eternal. He wants to put management in really handy." But strictly German hands. —PETER LEWIS in Brussels

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Extradition and the Amway case

The long-drawn-out feud between the Canadian government and Amway Corp., the U.S.-based direct-sales giant with 1988 sales of \$1.2 billion, moved into the diplomatic arena last week. Two months after federal officials first accused Amway of defrauding Revenue Canada of more than \$38 million in customs duties, federal officials confirmed that Ottawa plans to ask the U.S. government to extradite four top Amway executives to stand trial in Canada.

Last week at a provincial court hearing in Ottawa, federal lawyers won an adjournment in the case until Feb. 17, because, said one lawyer, attempts to extradite the executives were under way but not complete. Both Canadian and U.S. officials refused to comment specifically on the current status of the extradition plea. But it was clear that the dispute has moved to a new and extremely sensitive stage. The U.S. government must decide either to agree to the Canadian request, if it is made, or, side with the politically well-connected Amway executives, who have denied the fraud charges and maintain that they cannot get a fair trial in Canada.



Van Andel, numerous overtones

The four executives involved are the so-called "Dutch trio" who founded Amway in 1959, chairman Jay Van Andel and president Richard DeVos, as well as two vice-presidents, C Dale Packer and William Halstead. Van Andel and DeVos, in particular, are presen-

sent conservative Republicans who strongly support President Ronald Reagan and a number of right-wing organizations. All four men are wanted on charges of fraud, which were laid last November. Revenue Canada contends that Amway created a system of false invoices and price lists which were intended to conceal the true prices of Amway products shipped to Canada between 1965 and 1990. Ottawa contends that Amway avoided \$38 million in customs duties. As well, in a related civil suit, Revenue Canada is trying to recover \$147.6 million in customs duties, taxes and penalties which, it says, Amway owes.

The Amway executives have refused to appear in Canada to face the fraud charges. They did not show up at the initial court hearing late in the case last November. Instead, they called a news conference to defend themselves. They declared that the "fundamental constitutional rights of U.S. citizens have been violated by Canadian officials in the usurpation of the case, which can only be resolved by a U.S. court." They also explicitly denied that they intended to defraud Canada and insisted that they were victims of "an anti-American trade war." U.S. government authorities will likely have to decide if those perceptions are justified.

—WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington



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BUSINESS WATCH

Canada's secret computer centre

By Peter C. Newman

The building looks like one of those nondescript factories that dot the west end of Mississauga, near Toronto, where that industrial playground feeds out its dreary suburbs. Nothing is manufactured there and, despite the building's size (10,000 square feet), hardly anyone ever enters or leaves through its imposing steel-reinforced doors.

This is the headquarters of Comtek Management Corp., one of the more enterprising offshoots of our computer age. Except for its president, a bearded (former Winnipegger of Icelandic origin) named Gunnar Helgason, and his secretary, the building is deliberately kept empty—empty, that is, but for the banks of silent terminals in its lower level. This is a "computer backup centre," quietly financed by three dozen of Canada's big-tech corporations. Except for a straggly scrumptious in Philadelphia, it is the largest facility of its kind in the free world.

It has yet to be said, but its very existence, which has been kept secret because of potential security risks, indicates how dependent Canadian companies have become on their electronic software and hardware. "It's not a published statistic," Helgason told me in an exclusive interview, "but all it would take for the chartered banks to lose financial control of their operations would be 30 hours with their computers down. The Bank of Montreal, for example, is one of the largest private users of computer power in the world today. As the capacities of these computers get larger and faster, the dependency of businesses on these machines is growing exponentially. If a computer goes down, it can bring a company to its knees."

It's to provide for such emergencies, whatever their cause, that Helgason created his enterprise. "It's a place where company executives temporarily deprived of their own computers can almost immediately get back to business. We even have a war room for them with audiovisual facilities from which the president and his senior people can speak."

The Mississauga location was chosen because it is near Toronto International Airport, so that the facility is readily available to firms across Canada. Helgason refuses to list his clients, all of whom have insisted on a confidentiality clause in their contracts. The building

bristles with closed-circuit TV sets, and every window has its own shutter-guard system which will go off at the sound of a scratch. Fire detection and prevention includes not only the standard sprinkler system but heat, smoke and ionization detectors which can report a blaze in its incipient stages. Any fire will trigger clouds of Halon gas—an inert substance (Gogh in tennis is the building's mascot) that deprives fire of oxygen. A 500-circuit telephone switchboard has been installed, and there is a large (very recent) cafeteria as well as an infirmary for medical emergencies. As many as half a dozen companies can be



Helgason: "In a war, all bets are off"

accommodated at any one time. "In an atomic war, of course," Helgason admits, "all bets are off. Communism and nuclear war can be carried by attacking just their computer systems. Any intelligent corporation would pack data centres as prime targets."

"Computers can also be hit during disasters, if an installation's lightning arresters and surge protection should fail, a bolt out of the sky can sap high voltage into a computer's front end, poisoning it useless. Every Canadian company of any size now depends on at least one data centre, and without a backup facility like this their heads would be lost in the event of any emer-

gency. But it's just too expensive for each company to operate its own backup system."

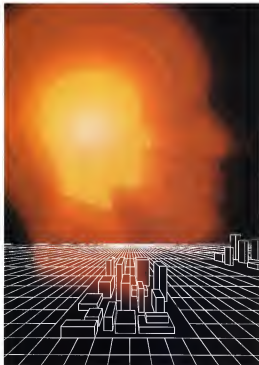
Space is allocated for future application of laser, fibre optics and satellite communications facilities. Helgason refuses to discuss the operational details of any of his clients but he has been briefed on the critical time path of each of their decision-making processes and knows how long any company could survive without computer access. "This of course," he says, "hasn't been established a cost analysis of not being able to use their data centre. They have a total of 100 applications running on their computers, and one of those applications alone would cost the company \$10 million a month if they weren't able to access it."

The facility is owned by a limited company named Comtek, with 61 partners, many of them major Canadian investors who estimate that it would cost about \$10 million to duplicate the Mississauga computer centre. Its heart is a system of terminals with a main north-west computer installation (a V-8 Amdek) and a tape library capable of holding 20,000 reels of tape. (The computer is now being upgraded to a larger model.)

Helgason loosely classifies himself as a financial consultant. He was invited to leave the University of Manitoba after two years of sincere courses for playing cards one too often in the students' union. He then became a chessboard consultant, worked for Manitoba Hydro, DuPont Unlimited, Coppers & Lybrand and Thorne Medical. He has packaged tax shelters, sold widgets and saw his interests in half a dozen Journey's Red Meats, as well as doing the syndicated packaging for Golden Grids, e-cigarettes and dealing in Florida real estate. His most interesting venture (with a partner, Frank Dwyer) is MacroCamp Systems, which sells computer software to doctors and dentists. He is also a partner in New Line Software Ltd., which has developed a new computer language that will allow machines to communicate with each other. (That's referred to in the trade as "a fourth generation system interface.")

At 38, Helgason claims he really doesn't enjoy any more. "I've retired," he says. "That's the way I look at it." He spends most of his time in that big empty building in Mississauga, planning for a day that may never come—when he could be running the decision-making centre of industrial Canada.





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ROYAL BANK

Teaching illiterates to succeed

By Susan Riley

Like thousands of other Canadians, 50-year-old Elizabeth Smoke of Wilkinoe, Ont., has no readable social handicap. She is functionally illiterate. Because of a childhood accident, Smoke did not start school until she was 10 and, she says, she spent several years in a special education class and forgiveness. She left school at 16, and after several blue-collar jobs she spent 26 years at home raising her three children. But recently, Smoke's desire for a better life for her children convinced her shame in being illiterate, and she enrolled in adult literacy

classes in Toronto 20 years ago when she was 30. She was literate in Greek but she never learned written English. For years she relied on her children to read and write for her. But recently she started literacy studies and now she relies on her own independence. Said Doucette: "I had to rely on my children to do everything, even to write my thank-you notes. Now I can do it myself." People who are illiterate have to learn to memorize street signs and guess at the meaning of words from other clues. They often develop prodigious memories and ingenious means of coping. Some take hand-written notes to help them remember their places.

enough. She charges that Ottawa has all but abandoned adult programs of basic reading and writing.

Still, there are encouraging signs that the literacy problem is easing, but as a result of demographics rather than retraining programs. The four million functionally illiterate Canadians in 1981 is down from five million in 1971. Most social scientists attribute the dramatic improvement to the fact that most illiterates tend to be over 45 years of age, and many are even older—products of the Depression. The 1980 report also pointed out that while there is a greater total number of illiterates in Canadian cities, the per capita percentage is higher in rural areas. Newfoundland, with its isolated outposts, had the highest rate of adult illiteracy in 1981 at 53 per cent. Alberta, with 14.3 per cent, had the lowest.

But there is still a disturbing hard core of young people who cannot read or write. According to Susan Ranger, who teaches illiterates at the Alberta Vocational Centre in Calgary, there has been a shift in recent years from older to younger students. Jack Pearpoint, head of the Toronto-based Frontier College, an innovative adult education institution, believes that the literacy problem will become more obvious in the future as the job market shrinks and basic job requirements become more stringent. There was a time when people could live on the edge of modern technological society and get along without reading skills. "But there is no rural backwater you can hide in any more," said Pearpoint. "There is no place a government farm does not go to."

There is also a high correlation between illiteracy and poverty, and a higher than normal percentage of prison inmates are illiterate. According to Pearpoint, "the single biggest problem for people remains the shame of being illiterate in a society that places a high value on literacy." Even now, he says, "nobody believes it when someone says that he cannot read or write, and if they find out that it is true, they think he must be stupid."

That may change when more people realize that illiteracy has little to do with intelligence. But the most immediate problem, says Pearpoint and others in the field, is convincing the illiterate that they can succeed. "They have become experts in failure," says Pearpoint. It is a skill that society may no longer be able to afford. □



Amelia Vela (left) instructs Albert Povey of a Toronto literacy class; inevitable army

acy classes. Said Smoke: "It isn't a question of being brave. It's just waiting something more in life." According to a report by the Canadian Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization released in Ottawa last week, there are more than four million Canadians like Smoke with less than a Grade 9 education—an indication of functional illiteracy in an industrialized society.

About 70 per cent of the country's illiterates are Canadian-born. As in the case of Elizabeth Smoke, the school system either overlooked many of them or they were ill as children. Others lived in isolated communities, or educational authorities labelled them prematurely as unteachable.

Greek-born Susan Doucette

Others, like a successful rural Alberta businessman who enrolled in remedial classes at the Alberta Vocational Centre recently, simply quit their jobs when a supervisor offers them a promotion that demands literacy skills.

Doucette reached the turning point a few years ago when her employer refused to promote her in the hospital kitchen where she worked because she could not write. She would have been required to write down telephone messages and fill out forms. "For me it was heartbreaking," she said. "Now I have decided there is no shame about it."

The government offers the opportunity (in loans to write) as I will talk it." But Audrey Thomas, a literacy expert from Victoria and author of the 1980 report, says that government is not doing



Thunderbird Turbo Coupe.

BMW 633 CSI

An unfair comparison.

In May 1981, Road asked Car and Driver Magazine to test three Ford Thunderbird Turbo Coupes against three BMW 633 CSi. They were conclusion: But we insisted. So they did it. On a 1.7 km (0.067 miles) closed handling course, the Thunderbird Turbo Coupes and the BMW 633 CSi duked it out. Corner for corner, straight for straight. The result? The Turbo Coupes won by an average of 1.0 second per lap. Not a huge margin, but a win nevertheless. And it's about one-third the price of the BMW. We're wondering if this is a fair or an unfair comparison. Now, what does this mean? It means that Ford has designed a sophisticated and winning car that can stack up against the world's best. Here's how we did it.

We gave it a tapered manual transmission (yes, manual on a Thunderbird) and coupled it with a 2.1 litre overhead cam four cylinder engine with a blow-through turbo charger. This results in 165 horsepower at 5600 RPM. And this high-tech engineering goes on. Gas filled front strut and four rear shock absorbers give a sure and secure to hard cornering. Goodwin Eagle 100 high performance wheels are standard. Near the end of the aerodynamic result is a drag coefficient of only 0.38 which gives the Turbo Coupe, well, great fuel economy. Maybe Car and Driver was right. Maybe we shouldn't have made this comparison.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?



Thunderbird Turbo Coupe.



McCauley and CPL: executives (some banks, required in the shift to user fees)

CONSUMERISM

Testing credit-card fees

The financial institutions that bring tradition this summer by introducing user fees for their credit cards are now anxiously awaiting customers' reactions as they receive their first charges for using those Visa and MasterCard. Most financial experts predict that it will take several months to assess the impact, but many expect that Canadian consumers will give their U.S. counterparts, who have come to accept user fees over the past few years with few complaints still, three interesting signs that Canadian cardholders may react differently to the new annual levies or fees for each transaction.

Indeed, some institutions in Canada have refused to conform to the pattern last month the Bank of Montreal announced that it would not impose fees that distance means that, for the estimated 30 per cent of the bank's cardholders who pay their monthly balances on time, there will still be no charge for the service. The Bank of Montreal joined ranks with fellow MasterCard users Victoria and Grey Trust and the National Bank of Canada, as well as Commerce Trust, which handles Visa. The first three institutions kept their interest rates on unpaid balances at 28 per cent annually. That may be enough to repel consumers who usually rely on unpaid balances, and they also saw up for the 26-per-cent interest rate which none of the other institutions that introduced user fees offer. But William Barker, executive vice-president of domestic banking for the Bank of

Montreal, said that his bank's no-fee decision brought in "overwhelming" responses, with double the normal number of card applications.

At the same time, a growing number of consumer advocates and media commentators are urging the public to switch to no-fee institutions. Andrew Cohen, director general of the Consumers' Association of Canada, says his organization has received hundreds of phone calls and letters denouncing the fees, which involve a flat payment of as much as \$12 a year or transaction payments of 10 or 15 cents per use. The card users argue that the fees are needed to increase revenues from a marginally profitable service. But some critics contend that they should at least have consulted cardholders before imposing the fees. James McCauley, president of the 24,000-member Canadian Federation of Labour, said that the C.F.L. might take some form of action if banks and trust companies cannot justify their fees.

The four banks among the Big Five that are still levying charges for their Visa, along with Canada Trust, which led the way last May when it introduced charges for its MasterCard, say they have had few cancellations. But they acknowledge that a negative reaction could develop eventually because many cardholders will be assessed fees for the first time on this month's statements. RBC, with nearly 15 million bank credit cards in circulation, Canadians might find their pay-by-plastic habit a hard one to break.

—PATRICIA HILGREN in Toronto

MEDICINE

Rattling the drug market

A powerful new competitor may soon enter the \$1.3-billion U.S. headache-pill industry. Two U.S. drug companies, American Home Products Corp. and Upjohn Co., are seeking permission to sell the Britain-created prescription drug ibuprofen as an over-the-counter drug. If ibuprofen is accepted, it will be only the third drug approved for nonprescription sale in the United States. The others are aspirin-based products (brand names include Bayer Aspirin and Anacin) and acetaminophen (Tylenol and Alamol). And last month an advisory panel of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration recommended that the agency approve the over-the-counter sale.

The FDA is expected to rule on the matter by the end of the year. Although it does not invariably follow advisory panel recommendations, the agency's consumer safety officer, Thomas Langan, said that "it would not be far wrong" to say that it usually does. American Home Products and Upjohn are preparing massive advertising campaigns in anticipation of launching a new, low-dose form of ibuprofen. At the same time, some U.S. market analysts recently revised upward estimates for sales of companies already in the pain-relief market. However, as well, analysts for New York's E.P. Harnett & Co. brokerage house said that the \$1-billion prescription segment of the anti-inflammation drug market could suffer as the over-the-counter market siphons off potential prescription customers. (U.S. sales of prescription ibuprofen last year amounted to \$300 million.)

But the \$700-million annual Canadian market in nonprescription painkillers may be more difficult to enter. Canadian manufacturers of over-the-counter ibuprofen have still not made overtures to the Federal Health Protection Branch about over-the-counter sales, according to 10th spokesmen. But Dr. Douglas Scriver, manager of scientific and regulatory affairs for Toronto-based Upjohn, which markets the drug under the name Motrin, says that his company may act soon. "In the next couple of weeks," he said, "we will be calling 10th and talking about it." Montreal's Frank W. Steiner Inc., which makes the drug under the name Anadol, is more cautious. Said product director Dr. Silvio Polito, "We are watching the situation in the United States very carefully."

If the FDA approves the drug in the United States, manufacturers will market it as they do in Great Britain, where customers can buy ibuprofen over the counter. In the United States the FDA categorizes drugs simply as prescription or nonprescription. Furthermore, supermarkets may sell popular pain relievers. But in Canada there are intermediate drug classifications. As a result, some nonaspirin painkillers, such as Tylenol, require no prescription, but only a qualified pharmacist can sell them. Industry observers note that such conservative Canadian medical attitudes may pose an obstacle to companies who try to change the status of prescription drugs.

Dr. Michael Brennan, a professor of family medicine at London's University of Western Ontario, cautioned that "the threat to have drugs available over the counter is consistent" and that its promoters are "sures who are interested." Brennan was chairman of the Ontario Medical Association committee on drugs and pharmacotherapy last February when the OMA circulated a bulletin warning against adverse effects from nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), including ibuprofen. The bulletin said that Motrin seemed for 10 per cent of reported adverse reactions—half of them serious—and called the reports "a bit of the iceberg phenomenon." The bulletin went on to urge doctors to avoid using NSAIDs if needed (chronic) aspirin, however, can do the job. Brennan and other medical authorities expect to see more adverse reactions if ibuprofen becomes available without a prescription.

Upjohn's Canadian proposal would likely run into stiff opposition. Neil Carson Knap, a spokesman for the Canadian Pharmacists' Association, said "We are wary of it—until the issue has been studied carefully." Dr. Michael Spivey, associate professor of clinical pharmacy at the University of Toronto and a member of the Ontario College of Pharmacists' drug advisory committee, said that the drug companies will argue that ibuprofen has no more potential for adverse reaction than aspirin. Spivey said that, while he would be "amazed" if it were impractical to try to impose more stringent controls on aspirin use, Spivey said, but he contended that there is no medical justification for adding still another drug to the list of easily available painkillers.

If the FDA approves the drug in the United States, analysts predict that its two manufacturers will spend as much as \$60 million each on advertising to launch their products. And that will increase the pressure on Ottawa's regulatory bodies to follow the United States lead.

—DAVE SHERMAN in Toronto

RELIGION

A verbal war of morality

Dublin's Irish Press newspaper once called the campaign a moral civil war. But last week Irish voters needed a long-running, acrimonious debate when they voted almost 2 to 1 in favor of placing a tough anti-abortion provision in the Irish constitution. Conservative doctors and laymen had organized a campaign when they became alarmed by what appeared to be the government's readiness to support more liberal family legislation in Ireland. The resulting battle divided the largely Roman Catholic country,

most of the republic's population, spearheaded the opposition. Protestant organizers did not advocate abortion, but they vehemently opposed writing what they saw as a Catholic value into the constitution. The amendment read: "The state acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to protect, and as far as possible to enforce that right."

The public debate immediately before the debate was particularly bitter. For his part, Dublin Archbishop Desmond Connors warned that a vote against the provision would open the way for the legalization of abortion. Then, the Irish Protestant Council of Churches branded the amendment "sectarian and divisive." And Paula Fennell, minister of state for women's affairs, who opposed the amendment, scolded its proponents of waging a "campaign of intimidation." As it was, last week's poll showed a clear split between rural areas, which overwhelmingly supported the amendment, and the cities, where the vote was more evenly balanced.



Spivey and wife, John, voting: acrimonious

strained church-state relations and damaged the credibility of the government of Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald.

The sponsors of the amendment, supported by Ireland's Catholic bishops, wanted to enshrine the anti-abortion law in the constitution itself to prevent Parliament or the courts from repealing the provision in the future without full public support. At the same time, Ireland's 180,000-member Protestant minority, which makes up only five per

cent, said it damaged FitzGerald's attempts to convince the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland to form a single state with the north. Anti-abortion forces claimed that, despite the 2 to 1 vote in favor of the amendment, the referendum's 50-per-cent voter turnout—one of the lowest in Irish history—demonstrated that many people are uncertain of their position on the issue. The acrimonious nature of the debate, however, was seen in doubt.

—BRANDON KERR in Dublin

Following the trail of Marco Polo

By Gillian MacKay

At galleries and museums have struggled for years with the conflicting roles of pleasing the public and pursuing academic research. But recently curators have tended to favor show business over scholarship. Eagerly promoted exhibits such as *Treasures of Tutankhamun* have proved to be winners both at the box office and in the boardrooms of corporations eager to supply financial backing. With last week's opening of *Silk Roads/Crossing Ships*, an ambitious 400-piece exhibition showcasing East-West trade since 300 BC, the Royal Ontario Museum is hoping to appeal to the popular taste for adventure and opulence. *Silk*, the exhibition, which the American Express Foundation has sponsored and which will tour North America through 1988, is less cutting than all the promotional name-droppers.

Two years in the planning, *Silk Roads* is the first show the ROM has originated since closing its doors for renovations in 1981. Curator John Walker chose the theme of trade between East and West as a convenient means of linking disparate aspects from the museum's own collection, ranging from richly decorated Peruvian effigy to a stuffed crocodile from West Africa. Through a variety of means—displaying maps of trade routes, documenting an 800 archaeological dig of a palace in western Iran, presenting actual goods traded and tracing the impact of sea culture on another—the exhibition attempts to encompass the full breadth of East-West encounter. The scope is daring, ranging from a look at the expanding markets for slaves to an examination of the changing image of the Buddha. Although the exhibition sparkles with small treasures, it is too broad to be

enlightening on any single topic and too reminiscent of a school lesson to be entertaining.

The show shows the title *Silk Roads/Crossing Ships* to evoke romantic images of Marco Polo's voyages, of camel caravans bearing silk carpets and clipper ships laden with tea and spices. Although the name promises more jo-

eyful merchandise, visitors have had trucks and cabmen congregate to watch the spectacle.

Silk Roads has no show-stopping pieces on the order of Tutankhamun's golden head but it does display a selection of 17th-century Indian jewelry, lavishly encrusted with rose-colored diamonds and flowering trees, and a 17th-century Dutch goblet fashioned by wrapping gilded copper around a coconut shell. The exhibition offers a rare opportunity to see selections from the ROM's precious textile collection which are seldom on exhibit because of their sensitivity to light. Of these, the most stunning is a silk velvet cloth from late 18th-century Iran which depicts graceful women in a richly colored, garden paradise.

At its most ambitious, *Silk Roads/Crossing Ships* traces the exchange of decorative styles and of technologies between East and West. An exhibit of weapons recalls that the Chinese invented gunpowder as early as the 9th century and Portuguese traders introduced firearms to the East in the 16th century. But the message text on the walls is full of blood generalizations, including snippets such as, "In China, sea-driving was engaged at a variety of occasions."

As *Silk Roads* crisscrosses North America in the next three years, thousands of schoolchildren will undoubtedly attend with their teachers. If it helps them get through their studies with greater enjoyment, it may serve a useful purpose. But aside from a few aesthetic highlights, *Silk Roads* offers little to sustain an adult audience inside a beehive of an exhibition, there are at least a half-dozen smaller shows fighting to get out. Perhaps next time the ROM will come to their attention. □



Persian furnishing fabric: the appeal of opulence and adventure

etry than the show delivers, the museum has attempted to create a colorful atmosphere of commercialism outside the entrance to the galleries with a replica of a covered bazaar filled with ornate carpets, Indian jewelry and spices. Inside the exhibition the mood of mercantile bards and battle is best captured in a lively 17th-century Japanese screen depicting Portuguese ships arriving at a port. On the docks, women



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AGRICULTURE

Milking the dairy market

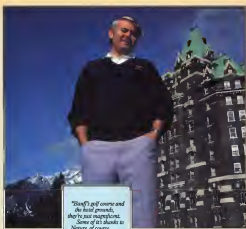
Canada's 450 dairy processors have gained a reputation for fiercely defending their \$5-billion-a-year business against such monetary initiatives as margarine, coffee "creamers" and whipped toppings. The latest made dairy product under attack is a milk-substitute drink called Pure D'Lite, first introduced in Canada from the United States in January. The white-powdered drink is a combination of dairy whey, coconut oil and artificial flavorings. Canadian dairymen fear that the new concoction, which tastes like milk, might become a potent threat.

The battle began in January when the Florida-made product, which sells for less than real milk in the United States and which contains less fat than milk, caught on as a trend among fitness devotees in Alberta. Many of them began buying it in the United States and bringing it through Canada Customs checkpoints in loads of as much as the legal import limit of six gallons per person. Then dairy producers charged that it contravened Canadian dairy regulations because the product contains both dairy and non-dairy products. The federal government agreed and in February it restricted commercial imports.

But the commercial ban merely prompted smuggling, which has now extended east to Ontario and New Brunswick. Said National Dairy Council President Knapton Martin: "The minute customs officials relax, it comes in." To start the import restrictions, Rod Dawe, Alta., distributor Donald Pedersen, 38, formed a Canadian company in July to make and sell the product. Pedersen hopes that by October more than 5,000 distributors will begin selling the product close to door.

The council's Martin claims that Pure D'Lite does not have the vitamins, minerals or all the enzymes provided by milk. For his part, Pedersen stresses that the drink, which has a one-year shelf life, could prove to be invaluable for people in remote Canadian communities and for soldiers in the Third World who cannot tolerate whole milk. He also claims that Pure D'Lite could create a lucrative market for whey, a largely unused byproduct of cheese.

But Canadian dairy processors are understandably wary of innovations. As a result, Canadians will not likely get a chance to put Pure D'Lite's claims to the test. —PETER GOTTEN in Edmonton.



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Aftermath of a drug recall

The publicity campaign that accompanied the January, 1981, Canadian launch of the prescription pain-killer Zomax had barely subsided last year when its manufacturer learned the bad news: few people had died from adverse reactions to the drug since its November, 1980, debut in the

United States. New Jersey-based Johnson & Johnson, which developed the drug, initially argued that a recall was unnecessary. But the firm reversed its position and voluntarily withdrew the product from drugstore shelves last March. And there seems to be an immediate relief in sight for the company,

which hopes to relaunch Zomax with strident warnings about its use. Last month the Ontario Medical Association (OMA) reported 35 suspected severe reactions to Zomax since the recall—apparently from people who were using leftover medicine. The side effects are ranges from a mild rash to a potentially fatal drop in blood pressure. As a result, the federal health department released its warnings to doctors and pharmacists against use of the drug.

Gerald Rotsberg, the OMA's assistant director of health services, said that there have been no reported deaths in Canada as a result of using Zomax. But he added that the new reports may represent as many as 10 times the reactions among Ontario and many more nationwide. "You might use it once and get sensitized," he said. "The next time—boom. You wind up in emergency." The OMA, which maintains the only provincial adverse-reaction monitoring program in the country, sent a telegram to federal Health Minister Mariquin Bégin in July, urging a national warning campaign. Dr. Walter Fungel, McGill Laboratories (Canada) Ltd.'s director of scientific affairs, said that his company received a copy of the telegram but that it has not yet evaluated the new reports.

Edward Napke, who oversees an adverse-reaction monitoring program for the federal government's Health Protection Branch (HPB), said that his office has received five reports of severe allergic reactions, which officials strongly suspect are attributable to Zomax. The illnesses took place in New Brunswick, British Columbia, Alberta and Quebec, and all of them occurred after the recall.

James Murray, a spokesman for Johnson & Johnson, said that the company has received 100 similar reports from around the world since March 4, including indications of both mild and severe reactions. "None of the people were aware it had been withdrawn, but they had not had any trouble, so they went ahead and used it," he said. Murray added that Zomax was designed to be used only by patients under a doctor's supervision. He stressed that it should not be taken randomly like aspirin. Prescription information on Zomax's bottles in the United States was revised in July, 1981, to warn that people who were allergic to aspirin, chemically similar to Zomax, should avoid the drug.

HPB spokesman Jean Bégin said that the agency would wait for a new report from McGill before commenting on the troubled drug's future in Canada. For his part, the OMA's Rotsberg remained skeptical about the reintroduction of the drug. "I would not want to market it," he said.

—DAVE RULIFSON IN TORONTO

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LEISURE

Cashing in on trivia

Trivial Pursuit's sales are still flourishing, but its monopoly of the trivia game market has been short-lived. Since the Toronto-based firm of Hare Abbott put its phenomenally successful adult quiz game on the market in May, 1982, it has sold more than one million copies at about \$30 each, an achievement that has not escaped the notice of other would-be game entrepreneurs. In recent months four apparent imitations of Trivial Pursuit—in which players advance on a board by answering questions from a box of cards—have reached the game stores. And like the original, the new arrivals are attracting customers.

All told, Trivia Challenge, Super Quiz, Golden Trivia and IQ 2000 have already sold about 400,000 copies. But if they owe any of their success to the pioneering efforts of Trivial Pursuit, they do not give it credit. The new games have seemingly sidestepped Canada's copyright legislation, and any debt to Trivial Pursuit, simply by creating new rules and different questions for their products.

For the most part, Trivial Pursuit's creators, former Montreal journalists Scott Abbott and Christopher Hiley, are assigned to their successors. Scott Abbott: "We always expected that one day there would be knock-offs of our game was a bit." One of the new offerings, IQ 2000, at least refers to a new, young audience. Inventors Placencia, Chiappetta and Mary DeMare, both 20-year-old Toronto university students, designed the game to give children a chance to test their knowledge of such subjects as animals, sports and facts, and takes the another apparent spinoff. Golden Trivia, is too close for Trivial Pursuit's comfort. Hare and Abbott have warned Elmer Coulter, owner of Universal Distributors of Oakville, Ont., the maker of Golden Trivia, that they will take legal action unless he changes Golden Trivia.

But Coulter, who has sold 15,000 copies in three months, says he does not plan to alter his trademarked game. And Canada's trivia war does not end there. The game manufacturers who have followed Hare Abbott's lead will be sharpening out no fewer than six more trivia games before Christmas.

—CAROL SHUMAN
in Toronto

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Callahan's Eleanor, Chicago, 1949: an implicit live-and-let-live tolerance

PHOTOGRAPHY

A look back at a pioneer

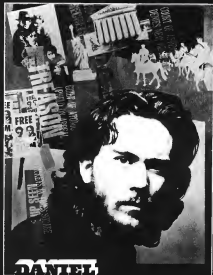
Although Harry Callahan is widely recognized as one of photography's living masters, many enthusiasts have never laid eyes on his prints. In fact, it is an absurdity of the modern's history that dealers, critics and curators have been able to declare artists "masters" before the public at large has had a chance to see for itself. The Harry Callahan exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto, on display until Oct. 16, is his first retrospective in Canada. Moreover, it is the first retrospective anywhere to treat his influential black-and-white work with examples of his pioneering achievement in color.

Born in Detroit, Mich., in 1912, Callahan has been taking pictures since 1935, but seldom for money. While making his living as a teacher at Chicago's Institute of Design and later at the Rhode Island School of Design, he has worked all his life at the art of photography. Inspired by both the accessible style of American landscape photographer Ansel Adams and the experiments of László Moholy-Nagy, a Hungarian who lived in the 1920s as a new restraint, Callahan is best known for studies that are highly abstract, high-contrast and formal. His pictures of black leafless trees

or weeds like pencil strokes against white backgrounds define what is for many people an art photograph.

In the 1960s such images became common as sources for student photographers and in the form of arty greeting cards. However, as the retrospective makes clear, Callahan was there first. A picture of telephone wires, three lines going in one direction, three lines going in another, is so bold, minimal and stark that it comes as a shock to discover that it was taken in 1945.

Although Callahan's subjects are sometimes more utopian and personal than that—often he portrays his wife and daughter—his style is consistently cool. Bearing scant traces of character or narrative, his images are neither documentary nor journalistic. Keith Davis, curator of the Harkness corporate collection of photography in Kansas City, Mo., where the retrospective originated in 1981, spoke of Callahan's work as an "ISO lecture as difficult to describe because it is 'so completely successful.'" Even photographs of his naked spouse are more concerned with line, balance and shading than they are with making statements about sex or domesticity. In one picture, *Eleanor*, Chicago, 1948, Eleanor Callahan, eyes closed, rests in water as serenely



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as a status, a self-contained icon. Nevertheless, when compared to some others in the show the picture of Eleanor's unfettered, Rubenesque loveliness implies Callahan's sense of natural beauty. In contrast to Eleanor's severity, a woman captured at random in a Chicago street wearing heavy Louisville Ball-style lipstick looks anxious and ill at ease; her cosmetics merely make her appear more insecure. In a similar vein, an assembly of blood and heavily made-up faces cut from the pages of 1950s fashion magazines comments negatively on these personalities, and on photographers who force women into such unrealistic poses.

Further evidence of Callahan's modern inventiveness is his early interest in color photography, which he took up in 1948 and has ever exclusively. Because it was so expensive that until the 1970s only commercial artists could afford to work with it, color photography was associated with advertising, fashion, cosmetics—anything but serious artistic intentions. Thanks to his, vulgar neo-retroism has only recently begun to dissipate. Just how significant a pioneer Callahan was in color photography came to light in 1980 when the Center for Creative Photography in Tucson, Ariz., mounted a major show covering the years from 1945 to 1978.

Unfortunately, only 15 of the 134 images in the retrospective at the art are in color. But even those are remarkable enough to illustrate Callahan's success in using a full spectrum. There are no muddy mid-tone effects. Instead, there is the same subtle attention to form that distinguishes the rest of his work. A Cape Cod beach scene in vista of muted blue and beige; it is as delicate as its black-and-white counterparts, in which bathers, surfers, sea and sky, despite definitions of shadows and textures, are melded into a peaceful whole. Another color photograph, taken in 1962, of Callahan's wife and young daughter standing nude below a window in a bath of light reveals that color combined with subtlety can be poetic rather than pornographic.

Callahan's pictures may appear more scientific than sentimental—he photographs houses in which people live as if they were so many pleasing arrangements of lines and patterns. But throughout his work there is an implicit live-and-let-live tolerance, an instinctive kindness. When speaking of the differences between art and commercial photography, he says "I think that, whatever you do, the kindness is important. If you are only doing it to get \$50, that's one motivation." As for his own approach, as free of the hypebole that became attached to photography when it became a novel commodity in the 1970s, he says simply, "I felt good doing it."

—DAVID LEVINGOOD

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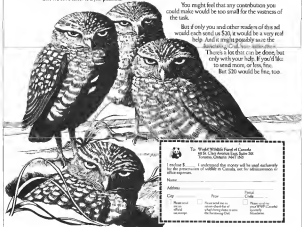
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ILLUSTRATION: BOB ALLEN

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IDEAS

A boardroom iconoclast



Buxter at meeting of Labatt vice-presidents. *Y deal in paradoxes and analogies.*

In Saul Buxter's 32nd-floor executive office, he has just the right panoramic view of the downtown Toronto skyline. The Labatt Brewing Co. creative consultant wears a suit and tie, and his hairstyle displays the required touch of grey. But all is not what it seems. In the corner a light bulb grows out of a plant pot, and on Buxter's lapel a small teddy bear wears its red eyes. The incongruities are appropriate. Buxter, a 46-year-old conceptual artist who has been in the Labatt executive offices since last November, holds a position that is unique in the Canadian business community. He is a corporate iconoclast.

During a 40-hour work week, Buxter's only job is to act as a sounding board to provide nontraditional opinions of corporate ideas. To do so he sits in on Labatt's board meetings and has access to all corporate records. He offers his services to everyone from Labatt President Sidney Gluskin to workers on the assembly line. Saul Buxter: "I was brought in to be a catalyst. I am here to deal in paradoxes and analogies. My role is to let people pick my brain and to generate ideas."

Buxter arrived at Labatt after a convoluted and unorthodox artistic career in the 1960s and 1970s. Using the name the N.E. Thing Co., Buxter created works that ranged from a display in which the contents of a five-room apartment were sealed in plastic to a day-long art gallery exhibition of his two children. He was also a university professor and practitioner of Zen. Saul Gluskin: "It was because of his range of

experience that I decided to hire him." Buxter half-jokingly had offered his services to Gluskin at a dinner in Toronto in 1984. He was surprised when Gluskin accepted. Explained Gluskin: "Every company needs a constant stream of new ideas if it is going to remain viable." Gluskin notes that Buxter's arrival has already produced results. Buxter introduced the concept for a Labatt retirement counselling service that is in the process of being implemented, as well as the look of the company's hotel-board campaign designed to discourage drinking and driving. Saul Dennis Manning, manager of public policy: "Saul's great advantage is that he has not come up through the corporate structure which can pattern a person's thinking."

As yet, no other Canadian companies are duplicating Labatt's venture. However, the in-house artist concept is catching interest, while the business community. Saul Victor Murray, a professor in the faculty of administrative studies at Toronto's York University: "Although the idea of a consultant is not new in business, the incorporation of a resident iconoclast, responsible only for creative thinking, is very novel. It is a fascinating idea." Alfred Jaeger, a professor of organizational behavior at McGill University's faculty of management, agrees, but points out that Labatt's resident-thinker concept would not succeed at every company. "It works at Labatt because their top management is open and flexible," he says. Buxter's unique role is to keep it that way. —RONALD MCKAY in Toronto



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Retelling the ultimate betrayal story

A TIME FOR JUDAS

By Morley Callaghan
(Introduction of Canada,
256 pages, \$16.95)

The story of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, as told in the New Testament, waves with the ebb and flow of fate. The players assume their positions (Mary Magdalene, the original prostitute with the heart of gold, Judas Iscariot, the viper in the nest) in emphasis of the impact of the story: the Son of God, betrayed and slain, dies for human sins and plunges the world into darkness that only he can dispel by his rising. Morley Callaghan, in 58 years as a writer, has often used the parable form and must have often wondered how the "right" story can grip and change its readers. That question is the essence of his new novel: In *A Time for Judas*, he questions the truth of the Christ story—not to undermine it but to explore its metaphorical power.

Callaghan's narrator, Philo of Crete, is a Greek whose patron and father-in-

law, a wealthy Roman senator, has exiled him to Jerusalem to wait out a scandal caused by the senator's dubious business practices. Philo acts as a scribe to an important friend of the senator's, the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, but is more interested in Jews than in Romans. The Romans are the great villains,

Morley Callaghan's new novel questions the story of Judas Iscariot and challenges the reader's expectations

generators, organizers and administrators of a kingdom far from home; the Jews are a conquered desert tribe fiercely turned in on themselves to celebrate and maintain their differences. Through the Jews he meets, the rather ordinary Philo loses a bit of his identification with the conquerors. A sensitive and intelligent wandering teacher, Judas Is-

cariot, befriends him, and he falls in love with another Jewish pontiff, Mary of Samaria. But he is most frustrated by a Jewish bandit, Simon of Iddamea, who seizes the tribal religion and whose only goal is himself. He lures Philo into a subversive collaboration against Roman law and riches, then ends as cat of the men cradled with Jesus. Philo watches Christ die but weeps for the charismatic bandit who went to his death without betraying Philo to the Romans.

The scribe and narrator is caught in his own drama of betrayal and loyalty, the better to reflect Callaghan's "true" story of Judas' betrayal. Judas did not sell out his master for 30 pieces of silver, but because Jesus asked him to, explaining, "Someone must betray me. The story requires it. Now is the time." That Judas should turn traitor was essential; he was a rich man's son with no need of money, anyone in Jerusalem knew when the Galilean could be found. But Jesus believed that the best of men should fall through a weak man's greed and envy—that was a

"tragedy." People believed it in spite of what they knew about Judas—overs Mary Magdalene, who was the only one ready to forgive him.

The last part of *A Time for Judas* is the long section in which the distraught Judas tells his story to Philo in reward for his story's sake. "If this is [Jesus'] music?" Philo wonders. "Making them all out a story?" Judas says that for Jesus "a man's life was like a river, a constantly changing river of adventures in freedom of choice and conscience. . . . For him, there was only one law—love. There might only come a source of evil—betrayal. The whole inner world swinging between love and betrayal—always first is a man's own heart. If it was true now for him to be betrayed, he would name 'betrayal' to be remembered with horror (never as the death of love)." In Callaghan's version, Judas does kill himself out of remorse for betraying Jesus. For attempting to substantiate the truth for the story that Jesus wanted told.

American critic Edmund Wilson said in the 1950s that Callaghan wrote modern parables which frustrated readers' expectations and made them think. In *A Time for Judas* Callaghan has taken an old parable and reinvented it in the image of the themes that have always haunted his work. That he could tell the Christ story with such depth of insight and passion shows that the old moral prevaricator is, at 80, bared to his finest edge.

—ANNE COLLINS

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 - 5 *Pelamed*, Maclean
 - 6 *Hollywood Wives*, Gidycz (3)
 - 7 *American Bookings*, Warden (2)
 - 8 *Reveries of the Jedi* (1)
 - 9 *Excerpt*, Higgins (4)
 - 10 *August*, Roemer (10)

- Nonfiction**
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 - 2 *Megatrends*, Meadows (3)
 - 3 *The Price of Power*, Munk (2)
 - 4 *Cherish and Bless*, Viki Canada, Phil (1)
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Rise and fall of a video pharaoh

AUTUMN OF FURY: THE
ASSASSINATION OF SADAT
By Mohamed Hefni
(Calicut, 200 pages, \$14.95)

When an NBC-TV interviewer asked Anwar Sadat in September, 1981, why critics had likened him to the pharaohs of Egypt, the president replied that "this comparison must have been made by people blind with hatred." Barely two weeks later, Moslem fundamentalists machine-gunned Sadat to death while he watched an army parade commemorating his greatest triumph, the October, 1973, war against Israel. But even as scores of foreign dignitaries arrived in Cairo for his funeral, TV reporters were astonished to discover that Sadat was severely scorned by his own people. Ordinary Egyptians, in fact, all but boycotted the ceremonies. In Autumn of Fury, an unexpurgated report of the Sadat reign, journalist Mohamed Hefni ex-

Autumn of Fury strips away Sadat's superstar image to reveal an autocratic, secretive and isolated leader

plains that the Egyptian leader "was a hero of the electronic revolution, but also its victim. When his face was no longer to be seen on the television screen, it was as if the 11 years of his rule had vanished with a swish of the control knob."

Such is the searing tone of Hefni's demystification of perhaps the West's favorite Third World leader since Gandhi. The former editor of Al-Ahram, Egypt's leading newspaper, Hefni develops a writing style as sharp—and as unflattering—as a scalpel. Stridling, pristine image of Gamal Abdel Nasser's successor, the workhorse of the first Arab victories over Israel and the superstar personality, gives way to what Hefni views as the real Anwar Sadat, an actor-manager, sensitive and so personally isolated that he was blind to a host of corruption which embroiled even members of his own family.

It will surprise few observers of Third World nationalism that Sadat's policy of openness to Western trade, aid and investment spawned an astonishing and corrupt class of nouveau riche. Bitter, Nasser's suture "Arab socialism" had

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to worry about breaking.

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Look for the Dual Wave when you decide to get a microwave oven. It's the new wave in microwave cooking.

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curbed but hardly enlivened the conservative impulses. Nor are many Westerners apt to be startled to learn that Sadat frequently abrogated Egypt's constitution and manipulated the country's press and its elections. Helal's more telling argument against Sadat is simply that he squandered the political influence that Egypt had won in the October, 1973 war.

Helal argues that the Egyptian president made what has become a one-sided accommodation with Israel. By doing so, the writer explains, Sadat not only opted out of Egypt's traditional role as the leader of the Arab world but raised popular expectations that presently would follow none. He simply could not satisfy them. Shocked by his moves at Camp David, the oil-rich Arab states of the Persian Gulf severed diplomatic ties and cut off far more aid than the United States was willing to provide. Israel, meanwhile, pulled the 15,000 paratroopers in stages and, Helal insists, used Egypt's abjection from the battlefield first to tighten its grip on the occupied West Bank and ultimately to invade Lebanon. Strategically or economically, Egypt gained little.

While Sadat's personification was lauded abroad, Helal contends that his critics at home came to view it as a betrayal. Compared as a traitor by other Arabs, with his country's economy stagnating and Islamic fundamentalist opposition rising, Sadat by 1981 had little more than his celebrity status to show for his efforts. In one pathetic passage, Helal describes Sadat reading "hours working on video the filmed record of past triumphs."

The most striking aspect of the determination leading up to Sadat's murder is contained in Helal's account of how the Western press continued to praise Sadat while failing to notice the chasm between him and the Egyptian people. A superficial, economic boom—produced by a tenfold increase in foreign debt—was widely reported as a signal of genuine growth. Sadat's bogus politicians were depicted as evidence of genuine political support, and his McLachlans were mistaken for television-only endorsed Western delegates. Harry Kassar, for example, who denounced Sadat in the early 1970s as a "bambino clown," later came to praise him as "the greatest [personage]." The blunders "The Distances" led to the most powerful question that Helal's book raises: "The West," he suggests, "must finally ask why it is that foreign leaders whom it has taken so fervently to its bosom because they seemed to speak its language—Chiang Kai-shek, the Shah, Marcos, Sadat and many others—have so significantly failed to win the affection of their own people?" —LEWIS GLENN



Woolridge, with her country and western band, inappropriately reuniting

TELEVISION

A cautious tale of rape

ANNE'S STORY
CBC, Sept. 22

ANNE'S STORY deals with emotional trauma—the rape of a pre-pubescent girl, and, later, her adult anxiety toward interested men—in such a discreet, tasteful way that the problem begins to resemble nothing more than some minor personality maladjustment. Several shades of children is no longer viewed as an isolated aberration, it is common and widespread enough to be made into fodder for prime-time television. There, the issue can be either acknowledged or presented in such a cautious manner that dramatic tension, altogether evaporates. In *ANNE'S STORY* the trauma has been scrubbed so clean of any trace of nasty guilt that the impact is lost.

During her parents' divorce proceedings Anne (Jenita Pytko) is deposited at her grandmother's home, where she finds a loving lion who does everything but drowl, rapes her in the hayloft. A host of interesting nightmares is the child's only immediate reaction. The story then jumps to Anne (Karen Woolridge) in her early 30s. She has become an aspiring singer on the southern Ontario country and western circuit. Her mother (Elva Mae Brower) entertains a succession of hard-drinking, live-in male friends who, in various ways, beat her. To escape from what she calls a "snappy fix" with a boomer mother, Anne accepts a marriage proposal from a man she meets in a club. At that point, Woolridge emerges as

the best thing in the drama: clumsy and strident, she conveys the confused vulnerability of a woman made afraid against all her natural impulses. On her wedding night she wishes in the bathroom of a Niagara Falls honeymoon hotel and then tries to bolster her courage with a mimick of vodka. Her husband (Timothy Webster) loses her initial patience with her—marital rape is implied—and the next-morning worried woman is on her way. It takes the classic line of another singer (played by David Carver, looking apologetically sad and scruffy but given all too little to do) to undo the past. After a breath-takingly short interval, she craves into his bed.

ANNE'S STORY is pleasant and reassuring—inappropriate qualities for a drama which seeks to present a harrowing trauma. The dramatic details stray from the realizations of the childhood assault, so the viewer gleans that the mother's maladjustment, say ways are somehow compliant in Anne's frigidity, but they are not. There are fine, unexpectedly funny passages which echo Graham Smith's script, but the writer fails to deal with the premise of the drama. The 1981 incestuous rape which begins the story seems only a halfhearted justification for events that follow. *ANNE'S STORY* would have been more successful had it been merely the story of a sexually cold woman coming to adjust to the love she unambiguously feels. The up-to-the-bare nightrains do little to illuminate the simple tale of sexual awakening. —BILLY MACFARLAN

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Snuggling up in 10 beds

By Allan Fotheringham

The journalistic profession of the land is in a lull. Usually self-motivated reporters are snuggling at each other at the press club bar, and television anchorwomen are making catty remarks about their dedicatee's laurels. Scribblers are preening dirty words into each other's video display screens. The island of all this news with Premier Bill Davis. It has been found out that the province of Ontario has an official falsethunder in the event of nuclear war. It is all stacked with promises, and a select number of potential politicians and high civil servants have been designated as being worthy of inclusion among those who will survive while the rest of us fry. But it also has been revealed that upon has been reserved for 39 journalists in the underground haven.

Now this presents problems. In Kewlin, what is to be allowed in? And Harvey Kitchcock? What will Lloyd Robertson think of all this? Does Queen's Park feel that Barbara, or Mary Lou, is worth saving? This is a heavy responsibility. Robertson, Billy and his minions have taken on. Every high journalist in Toronto and in the Ontario press gallery is at this very moment giving in fear, dreading the inevitable time when the identity of the Ontario Two will be revealed. It will be clear to the nation who is important and who is not. It is almost as bad as the situation at Waterloo when Nixon's list of journalists was unveiled, and the top White House correspondents quaked at fear that they might not be on it.

Would Jack Webster, for example, move to Toronto just so he could be saved by the Davis fast-think lead walls? The thought of being exposed to Webster shouting for an intermediate period in a subterranean cellar might induce some to opt for nuclear death. Will it be decided by lottery, or by a desire to have a balanced political point of view, I mean, will the need to have Lester B. Mack's deathbed views as Allan Fotheringham as a political journalist.

consequence get Kewlin points over having Charles Lynch and his harem-mat? I tell you, these Ontario officials are going to have a rough time figuring this one out. Kewlin and Webster and Lynch and Barbara had better have those knapsacks and gasmask makeup packed, one would hate to get the call as the missiles home in and find oneself in hair curlers at such unseemly or horrid moment in for a hair job.

Of equal intrigue is the conclusion that the politicians have decided to take 30 scribblers and engineers into the bunker with them. There is the old

scale of priorities the politicians have decided that before they die they would most like to struggle up with a peek of reporters. I tell you, it is very touching. When it comes down to the crunch, they want us close. It sure brings a lump to the throat.

Actually, I have always thought that the relationship between politicians and the press resembles more than anything that of penitentiary guards and inmates. Pen guards and prisoners are in reality closer to one another in attitude and ambience than either side is to the general public. The cops and the press are the same. They would rather drink with each other than with any single member of the great electorate. It is because they share the same secrets, speak the same code, know all the inside gossip and trade on the fact that they belong to an exclusive "club" which bars 99.9 per cent of the population of Canada from membership.

It's why Ontario is such a cozy bastion of privilege for those who live there full time. It's like belonging to a country club where you know everyone, use only nicknames and never have to bother with those whose values are not

your own. You can be sure that everyone in the bunker will know each other by their first names: "Hiya, Bill," "How's dad, Kewlin?" "With Ross Cherry of the Globe and Mail, mutual adviser of the nation, he does these? Why not?" Let us rest assured that no bid reporter from The Canadian Press with his notebook will be there. Just the few guards and the prisoners, comparing their income tax returns and trading stories about the charisma of Herb Gray.

The official Ontario nuclear bunker is a swell idea whose time has not only come but perhaps should be expanded.

It would be, no mention, a miniature version of Ottawa. Some one of my earlier brilliant ideas—putting all Ontario under a Fidelian dome—has not been adopted, why not consider buying it, putting it out of its final misery so everyone can keep talking to each other and filing away worked files? Why wait for nuclear war? Do I say, while it still seems a good idea.



question of whether, in the silence of a deserted forest, there is any sound when a tree falls when there is no one to hear it. And so we have the metaphysical dilemma here. Is there any crime, any drama in the earlier falsethunder unless there is a reporter there to transcribe it? And who are they going to report to—all of Ontario show them blasted away to resemble a provincial-wide Sudbury? (I tell Davis how to tell the Kewlin in his concrete cell, there obviously won't be much in the way of ratings for Kewlin as the TV Tower topples into the lake and Harold Ballard ceases to talk.)

After a while, Webster is going to tell Lynch what to do with his bleeding mouth again, and Barbara is going to scream at Labor J, and Kewlin will be told he still can't say "good-night" properly. It could get messy down there.

There is no news of space being reserved for clergymen, teachers, town supervisors, opera singers, university professors, astronauts or authors. In the

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